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Uruguay

JOSÉ PEDRO RONA

(The Problem of Etymology of Place Names of Guarani Origin)

URUGUAY IS ONE OF THE VERY FEW REGIONS OF LATIN AMERICA with no indigenous population. At the time of Spanish conquest, the country was inhabited by Indians of uncertain origin, who presumably were in contact with the Guarani family.[1] Insofar as no actual mixture occurred between Indians and the white conquerors, there are only a few words of Indian origin in the present-day Spanish dialect of this country. In spite of the discussion concerning racial origin of these tribes which has been mentioned in note 1, it is undeniable that almost all these borrowings are unmistakably taken from Guarani. This becomes clear not only through analyzing their form and contents, but also because of the fact that a good number of these words are widely used in Guarani-speaking regions like Paraguay, North-Eastern Argentina and bordering zones of Brazil.[2]

All these borrowings can be classed, with very few if any exceptions, into three lexical fields:

a) Plant names
b) Animal names
c) Place names

[1] Taking into account the clearly Guarani character of Uruguayan toponymics, many scholars supported the theory that the country had been inhabited by Guarani Indians. Juan M. de la Sota (*Historia del territorio oriental del Uruguay*, Montevideo, 1841) has been the first supporter of this idea. It seems now, however, that the frequency of Guarani names is due to the utilization of that language as *lingua generalis*, i.e. Spaniards were in contact with the Indians of the diverse tribes only through Guarani-speaking interpreters. An up-to-date general view of the theories concerning racial origin of Uruguayan Indians can be found in Olaf Blixen, *Acerca de la supuesta filiación arawak de las lenguas indígenas del Uruguay*, Montevideo 1958. One fact remains, however, unchanged: place names are taken from Guarani.

[2] Thus, *Sarandí*, *Mburucuyá*, *Yatay*, *Arazatí*, *Caraguatay*, etc., are frequent in Paraguay, Brazil and some provinces of Argentina, just like in Uruguay.

As in other cases of bilingualism due to conquest or to migration, these three semantic fields are the most receptive to loan-words from the autochthonous languages. For this reason, about 80 % of Uruguayan place names of the earliest periods of conquest and colonization are of Guarani origin.

Since Guarani dialects are agglutinant, it is almost impossible for Spanish-speakers to interpret their individual words correctly. As a result, most place names are scarcely comprehensible for the present-date population. Consequently scholars try to find the original meaning of these place names by analyzing them, mostly with the aid of Guarani-Spanish dictionaries, very often decomposing them syllable by syllable, or even phoneme by phoneme.[3] It is our purpose to show here that this method is inadequate and lacks scientific rigorousness.

The name of the country, which is at the same time the name of the principal river,[4] i.e. *Uruguay*, will give us the best example as to what divergent results can be arrived at by means of such analyses. The name *Uruguay* has been explained in different ways by many scholars. Some of the principal explanations are listed below:

A) Félix de Azara:[5] *urú* (a bird) + *gua* "country" + *ï* "river",[6] i.e. "the river in the country where *urú* live"

B) Fray Antonio Ruiz de Montoya:[7] *uruguá* "snail" + *ï* "river," i.e. "river of the snails"

C) Bautista C. de Almeida Nogueira:[8] *ïruguá* "canal" + *ï* "river," i.e. "the river of the canal." The primary form would have been *Ïruguay*

[3] This is the same phenomenon which has been pointed out by Madison S. Beeler (*Names* V: 4, 1957, pg. 236). It occurs presumably not only in the United States and in the River Plate region, but also in all the other countries of the continent.

[4] There is another *Uruguay* river, in the Province of Misiones, Argentina, an affluent to the *Paraná*. The name of the country is taken from that of the river, because *República Oriental del Uruguay* means "the Republic East from the *Uruguay* River."

[5] *Descripción e historia del Paraguay y del Río de la Plata* (1st edition, 1847), 1943, pg. 34.

[6] *ï* is an unrounded central vowel of the Guarani dialects.

[7] *Tesoro de la lengua guaraní* (1st edition, 1640), 1870, pg. 407. This etymology is accepted by Daniel Granada, *Vocabulario Rioplatense Razonado*, Montevideo 1892, s. v. Uruguay.

[8] In vol. VII of *Annais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro.*

D) Some authors explain: *urú* "bird" + *guag* "ornament" + *ï* "river," i.e. "river of the painted birds"

E) J. Zorrilla de San Martín: *urú* "bird" + *wa* "cave" + *ï* "river," i.e. "the river flowing from a cave where there are birds"

F) Arturo R. Campos:[9] *ï* "river, water" + *ruguay* "tail," i.e. "the tail (affluent) of the water (sea)"

G) Buenaventura Caviglia:[10] *urú* "chief" + *gu* "of" + *a* "coming" + *ï* "river," i.e. "the river affluent to that of the chief".[11]

It is apparent that most hypotheses agree in explaining the first part of the name as being *urú*, which, by the way, is not the generic denomination of all birds (called *guirá*, not *urú* in Guarani), but the name of only one species of small birds which lack intense coloration. This makes hardly believable the explanation as "river of the painted birds." Nogueira's hypothesis is also unlikely, because there are no known canals along Uruguay River. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to reject any of the explanations on the only basis of lack of logical meaning, because Guarani place names are generally not logically built, at least not from the white man's point of view.[12] On the other hand, from a purely formal standpoint, we must reject the explanations of Nogueira and Campos, who do not take into consideration that the Guarani unrounded central vowel resulted in Spanish in *i*, not in *u*. The other hypotheses should be accepted or at least allowed to be possible, because they all correspond to the rules of Guarani word composition. It would be then impossible to find out which one represents truth.

We should therefore try to approach the whole problem from an entirely different standpoint.

This writer should state, first of all, that he has never attempted to specialize in Guarani or in American linguistics. His interest was occasioned exclusively by the apparent impossibility of knowing the meaning of this place name.

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[9] *Significado etimológico de Paraguay y Uruguay*, Asunción, 1953.

[10] This etymology is accepted by Gutierre Tibon, *Diccionario de Nombres Propios*, Mexico City 1956, pg. 530, who took it from a letter of Adolfo Berro Garcia.

[11] *Urú* would mean here "chief" or "father."

[12] Cf. Madison S. Beeler, *loc.cit.*, pg. 238f., concerning the giving of place-names by the California natives.

We understand, however, that the mistake in all hypotheses listed above consists principally in taking linguistic facts as if they were independent of the speakers' minds. Actually words and phrases cannot always be decomposed like mathematical quantities into prime numbers. In agglutinant languages, A + B do not necessarily equal C, but only if C evokes in the listener's mind the sum of A + B. Thus in Hungarian, *has* means "abdomen," *on* means "on", *ló* means "horse," but *hasonló* does not signify only "a horse on the abdomen," but also, and principally, "similar," because listeners normally interpret it as created by a completely different synthesis. Similarly in Guarani there are many possible syntheses which would yield identical phonetic signs but many different meanings. In such circumstances, the only possible equation would be A + B + convention between speaker and listener = C.

In other words, a complex ("agglutinated") word must have a single meaning (or at least a single meaning in a given context) even if there could be two or more possible syntheses from which it could be originated. Such words which do not fulfill this requirement would not be real signs in the Saussurean way. This means that agglutination is not always a reversible process, i.e. analysis, if detached from *living speech*, does not always explain the origin and the meaning of a word.

Bearing this in mind, we must arrive at the conclusion that the only safe way of finding out the original meaning of Guarani place names consists in searching in the *living speech*, because a Guarani word must be *understandable* to a Guarani-speaker. Inasmuch as Guarani is still spoken by a good number of individuals in Paraguay and Argentina, it is not too difficult to investigate the correct etymology.

Accordingly, this writer asked six bilingual (Guarani and Spanish) Paraguayan pupils of his at the 1958 summer courses of the Instituto de Estudios Superiores of Montevideo to translate the word *Uruguay* into Spanish. None of them knew that others were being asked. Nevertheless, all six concorded in translating *uruguay* by "tail of the *urú* bird." Some months later the same question was put to an old Guarani Indian woman (a *chipa*-vender) and to a bilingual soldier in Encarnación (Paraguay), as well as to a fisherman and to a coach-driver at Iguazú, Argentina. All they translated without hesitation "tail of the *urú* bird." This should be conclusive evi-

dence that whenever a Guarani-speaker hears the word *uruguay* he understands "tail of the *urú* bird." This would be then the only acceptable etymology of our place name (probably composed of *urú huguaï* "tail"), although it is hard to explain how this name has been given to a river. Strange as it may seem, this etymology is not even mentioned in the abundant literature on our subject.

Two points could be used against this etymology: first, that present-date Guarani dialects of Paraguay and Argentina are not necessarily identical to those spoken in Uruguay at the time of Spanish conquest when this place name originated, and second, that place names often correspond to former stages of the language and are, therefore, incomprehensible to present-date speakers (i.e. they are only names), as occurs in many other countries throughout the world. However, the name *Uruguay* exists not only in this country, but also in Argentina and Brasil and, concerning the second objection, we must point out that agglutinant languages generally conserve their phonetic patterns and, therefore, the "meaning" of place names better than other languages. Furthermore, both these objections are also applicable to any of the hypotheses hitherto proposed and, if they were true, they would mean only that we will never be able to find out the etymology of Guarani place names.

We believe therefore that "tail of the *urú* bird" should be accepted as the meaning of *Uruguay*, and that the meaning of the other Guarani place names should likewise be investigated through living Guarani speech.

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Caribbean Words in Mexican Toponymy

STANLEY L. ROBE

LATE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, men such as Antonio Peñafiel, geographer and linguist, Nicolás León, anthropologist, and Cecilio Robelo, historian and investigator of native languages, gave the initial impulse to the serious study of Mexican toponyms. In Mexico, attention has been directed in the main toward the country's principal native languages, especially Nahuatl and Maya, and to a lesser extent Tarascan. The wealth and variety of the native languages have encouraged and given direction to toponymic studies, although a strong nationalistic motivation based upon the exciting events of the first contact between natives and Spaniards is frequently discernible. Toponyms of Hispanic derivation have never been a popular theme for investigation in such surroundings. The same can be said of terms derived from other non-Mexican sources.

The geographical strategy of the conquest and settlement by the Spaniards has added another feature to the total picture of Mexican toponymy, this feature being the terms of Caribbean origin learned by the Spanish in their island colonies of the West Indies, then carried to the American mainland. The early nature of their introduction gave a number of these words sufficient impetus to find their way into Mexican Spanish and to compete successfully with terms of indigenous Mexican origin, displacing some of the latter and co-existing with others. Many have found their way into the colloquial and literary levels of the language and have currency wherever Spanish is spoken.

However, the role of these terms in distinguishing the dialect zones of Mexican Spanish has not been clearly determined. The late Pedro Henríquez Ureña, who established five subdivisions of the zone corresponding to Mexican Spanish, does so almost exclusively on the basis of their phonetic characteristics. Of the larger zone he says:

> The Mexican zone constitutes an historical unit because all its territory formed a part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain or was under its influence. In its lexical aspect, the abundance of terms derived from Nahuatl gives character to the zone.[1]

Terms of Nahuatl origin, consequently, are not particularly helpful in establishing boundaries of the subdivisions, and significant lexical information must be sought elsewhere. In order to bring a clearer focus upon the problem, I have examined contemporary Mexican toponyms derived from sixteenth-century native languages of the West Indies. These lexical items, within certain limitations, are readily available in published sources and need not be sought by slow and expensive work in the field. Furthermore, their geographical location can be determined with considerable accuracy and pinpointed on modern maps of Mexico.

Some consideration of the process by which these terms found their way into the Spanish language generally and that of Mexico will serve to place them in their proper historical perspective. The first contact of Spanish with one of these tongues occurred during the first voyage of Columbus when he landed at Guanahaní, probably Watling's Island, one of the Bahamas. Unfortunately, the log of this voyage has not been preserved, but Father Bartolomé de las Casas examined it and made an extract of it in the early sixteenth century and surviving accounts are based on his version. Columbus describes the gentle Island Arawaks who spoke Tainan (in Spanish *taíno*), a language extinct since the middle of the sixteenth century. During the first two weeks of his voyage through the West Indies, only Spanish terms denote the new objects observed by the Spaniards, but when Columbus reached Cuba, Tainan terms become frequent, although the possibility exists that these reflect the vocabulary known to Las Casas.

There is clear evidence, however, that Columbus and his men added Tainan words to their vocabulary. Peter Martyr, the Walter Winchell of the period, interviewed many of them when they returned to Spain and the first letters of his *De orbe novo*, begun late in 1493, relate the adventures of Columbus in the West Indies, mentioning items peculiar to the New World by their native names:

[1] *El español en Méjico, los Estados Unidos y la América Central* (Buenos Aires, 1938), p. 334.

canoa "dugout canoe," *canibal* "cannibal," *age* "variety of sweet potato," *yuca* "cassava," *maíz* "Indian corn," *bohío* "native house," *cacique* "chieftain," and many others.[2] Their use in the Spanish of Santo Domingo, Cuba, and Puerto Rico of the early sixteenth century is amply documented in the writings of chroniclers and explorers who lived in the area, men such as Las Casas, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Juan Ponce de León, and Vasco Núñez de Balboa.

Hernán Cortés and the men who accompanied him to Mexico in 1519 had all spent several years in Santo Domingo or Cuba where Tainan terms were a part of daily vocabulary. Cortés had come to Cuba in 1511, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, the author of the *Verdadera historia*, in 1515, after spending several months on the Isthmus of Panama; likewise, the captains of Cortés, among these Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco de Montejo, Cristóbal de Olid, Diego de Orgaz, Juan Velázquez de León, Juan de Escalante, and Francisco de Morla. The writings of the chroniclers of the conquest give ample evidence of the presence of terms derived from Tainan in the Spanish used by the captains and soldiers. One only need read the *Cartas de relación* of Cortés, the *Verdadera historia de la conquista de la Nueva España* of Bernal Diaz, the *Relación* of Andrés de Tapia, and the *Itinerario* of Juan de Grijalva, among others.

In Mexico, Spanish came into contact with Nahuatl, the dominant native language of the central Mexican area. Borrowings from Tainan which designated objects also found in Mexico thus met competition from Nahuatl and entered into mortal conflict. In some cases the results were decisive in favor of the West Indian term, which to all intents and purposes supplanted the derivative from Nahuatl:

> *Maíz* "Indian corn" displaced the Nahuatl word *centli* and allied forms, which survive largely in place names.
>
> *Maguey* "agave" or "century plant" was victorious over *metl*, a Nahuatl term which probably designated a slightly different variety of the plant.
>
> *Tabaco* "tobacco" originally referred to a kind of cigar or tube in which dried leaves were smoked. *Yetl* or *picietl*, Nahuatl designations, have left few traces.

[2] *Décadas del Nuevo Mundo* (Buenos Aires, 1944), pp. 6, 7, 8, 15, 24.

Cacique "Indian chief" has been borrowed from Tainan and has currency in all areas where Spanish is spoken, including Mexico. *Tlatoani* "lord" or "noble" has survived in some regions, retaining a specialized meaning.

Canoa "dugout canoe" encountered opposition from the Nahuatl *acal*, but won out handily. Cortés, in his third letter to the king of Spain written in May, 1522, shows the conflict clearly when he says of the Indians of the Aztec capital: "...they were going to go out into the lake in their *canoas* which they call *acales*, and others went up into the mountains."[3]

Jagüey "cistern for water," a designation learned by the Spaniards on Haiti, met little opposition from Nahuatl.

Other words derived from Tainan, particularly in the realms of fauna and flora, also emerged victorious: *caoba* "mahogany wood," *carey* "tortoise shell," *guacamaya* "macaw," *guayaba* "guava apple," *iguana* "large lizard," *mamey* "mammee," *papaya* "papaw," *tuna* "fruit of the prickly pear."

In far greater numbers, however, the terms of Nahuatl origin triumphed, because of priority of existence among a numerically large group of speakers with a relatively homogeneous and advanced culture. These have been the decisive terms in determining the Mexican dialect area of American Spanish, at least vocabulary wise. A few examples will illustrate:

Jobo "wild plum," first used by the Spaniards in the West Indies, has given way in most of Mexico to the Nahuatl derivative *jocote* "sour fruit."

Bixa "annato, a red dyestuff" persists in the West Indies and South America, but in Mexico and Central America, *achiote*, of Mexican origin, predominates.

The same holds true for *maní* "peanut," the usual term in the West Indies but rarely heard in Mexico, where *cacahuate* usually designates this plant; likewise *ají* "chile pepper," the usual term in the West Indies and South America, but replaced by *chile* in Mexico.

[3] *Cartas de relación de la conquista de México* (Buenos Aires-Mexico, 1945), p. 148.

Actually, relatively few terms of West Indian provenience have established themselves in Mexican Spanish. A somewhat greater number co-exist with terms of indigenous Mexican or Hispanic affiliation. All groups, however, are represented in contemporary Mexican toponyms.

The present study is of an exploratory nature whose aim is to determine whether there exists any relationship between the tentative subdivisions of the zone of Mexican Spanish on the one hand, and the geographical distribution of vocabulary items of Tainan or West Indian origin on the other hand. The first step in the process has been to find a suitable collection of place names for the area concerned. This is readily available in the gazetteer for *Mexico*, prepared by the United States Board on Geographic Names and published by the Government Printing Office in Washington in 1956. This volume of 750 pages contains the names of approximately thirty-three thousand inhabited places and geographic features of the Republic of Mexico.[4] The latitude and longitude of each point are indicated so that it can be charted on a map. The features of accuracy of nomenclature and location, plus the number of toponyms it contains, make this work a convenient starting place.

Among the approximately thirty-three thousand toponyms contained in the volume, 402 can clearly be traced to a Tainan or perhaps a West Indian Carib origin.[5] Figure 1 (p. 11), in which each dot represents a toponym of this type, shows graphically the areas of density of these terms.

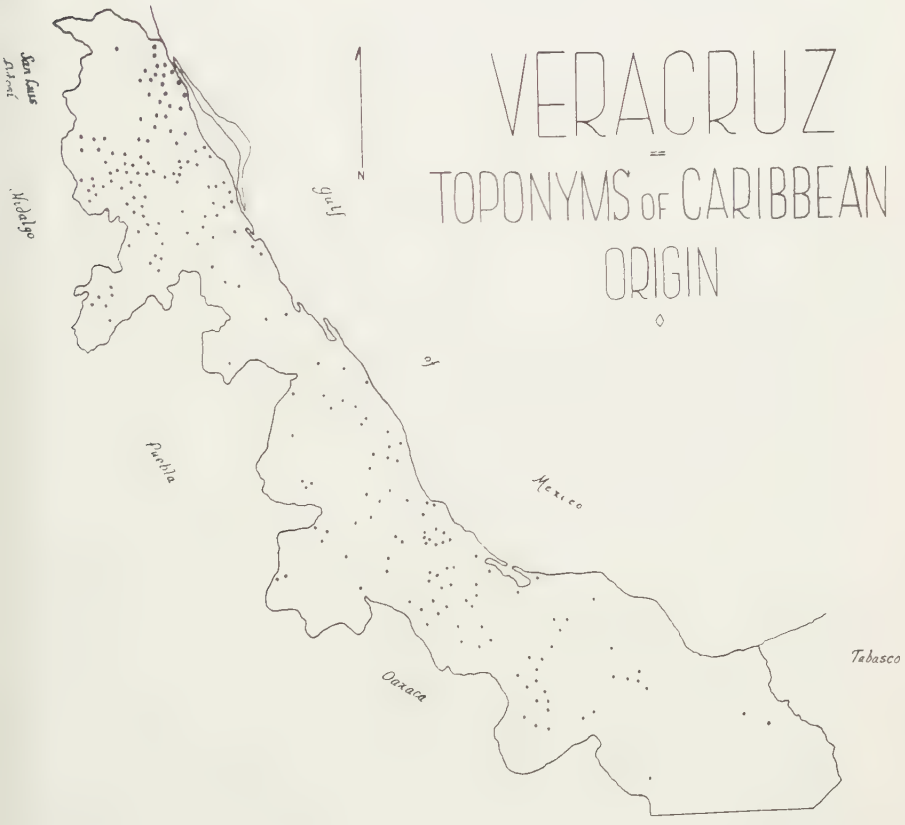
Their concentration is greatest in the coastal areas, particularly on the Gulf Coast, in the states of Veracruz and Tabasco, and to some extent in Campeche. The peninsula of Yucatan, however, is almost devoid of such toponyms because of the predominance of the Maya language there. However, certain nuclei of these terms appear also on the Pacific Coast, one in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, another in western Jalisco and Nayarit, and others in northern Sinaloa and southern Sonora. There are no well-defined clusters in

[4] The volume contains 53,000 entries as indicated on p. i, but of these somewhat more than one third are cross references, hence the estimate of 33,000.

[5] For this purpose I have used Georg Friederici, *Amerikanistisches Wörterbuch* (Hamburg, 1947), supplemented by Pedro Henríquez Ureña, *Para la historia de los indigenismos* (Buenos Aires, 1938), and Alfredo Zayas, *Lexicografía antillana* (Havana, 1914).

the central plateau. Rather, the toponyms are scattered there and Nahuatl tradition has been the decisive feature in toponymy.

Two factors must be considered in explaining the density of the coastal areas. On the Gulf Coast, the historical factor is significant to a considerable degree. It was settled by the Spaniards in the early



colonial period; the city of Veracruz in 1519, the Pánuco area to the north in 1523, and Campeche in 1540. This was the era when life in the West Indies was still fresh in the memories of conquerors and soldiers who became *encomenderos* in Mexico. The same factors, however, cannot operate in the Pacific area, which was generally settled somewhat later, particularly in its northern reaches of Sinaloa and Sonora.

One feature is obvious in all coastal regions. There is a close relationship between the frequency of Caribbean toponyms and the ground cover. The luxuriant vegetation of the Mexican tropical lowlands has more in common with that of the West Indies than it does with that of the arid and relatively barren highlands. Items of tropical flora are clearly represented by such terms as *anona* "soursop," *caobal* "mahogany grove," *ceiba* "ceiba tree," *jobo* "hog plum," *papayo* "papaw tree," *guayaba* "guava apple," *guayacán* "lignum vitae, a large tropical tree," *guácima* "West Indian mulberry tree," *hicaco* "coco plum," *mangle* "mangrove," and other trees and shrubs. The botanical explanation is applicable in the case of the Pacific locations, for there the toponyms were applied throughout the colonial period as late as the eighteenth century and are somewhat removed from the Caribbean area geographically and distant in time from the linguistic conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century.

At least two terms are of little value in determining dialect areas. The word *maguey* "century plant," with its inflected and modified forms, appears 47 times (over one tenth of the total), both along the coast and throughout all the central plateau. The same applies to *tuna* "fruit of the prickly pear," which is listed 24 times. Both items are considered distinctive features of the Mexican landscape. However, *maíz* "corn" is almost completely absent from the picture, for it occurs only twice in the list of four hundred items. For toponymic references to corn, Mexico relies almost exclusively upon derivatives from native languages.[6]

One well-defined area of the toponyms of West Indian origin coincides closely with one of the dialect subdivisions tentatively set up by Henríquez Ureña twenty years ago. He lists six regions, one of which he describes as "the lowlands of the Gulf Coast, which, through the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, are joined with those of the Pacific."[7] The dot map of toponyms clearly outlines this region, which includes the Mexican states of Veracruz and Tabasco on the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific lowlands of Oaxaca and Chiapas. The phonetic qualities of the speech of this area resemble in several respects the Spanish of the Antilles:

[6] Paul F. Griffin, "Allusions to Corn in Mexican Toponymy," *Journal of Geography*, LII (1953), 165–167.

[7] *El español en Méjico...*, p. 335.

1. The vowels are full and the consonants tend to erode in final position.
2. /s/ final in a syllable is a voiceless aspirate, as in many lowland areas of America.
3. Intervocalic /x/ is weak in intensity and is little more than a voiceless pharyngeal.

Evidence from Figure 1 indicates that this area can be defined on the basis of its toponyms as well as by the phonetic qualities of its speech.

In order to obtain a check on the accuracy of Figure 1, I have employed the same methodology for smaller areas of the country, using as source material various volumes of the latest available census of Mexico. The state which I have examined most carefully is Veracruz, in which 8,688 inhabited places were listed in the census of 1940. Of these, 230 bore names derived from Tainan or a Carib language, distributed as shown in Figure 2 (p. 14.).

This material coincides closely with that shown in Figure 1, as at least two features will indicate. First, both maps show a concentration of toponyms in the extreme northern portion of the state. This is the area of the Pánuco, whose settlement by Hernán Cortés was begun in late 1522 or early 1523, when thirty Spaniards received encomiendas of Indians. The second feature in which the census material coincides with that of Figure 1 is the extension of these place names into the eastern portion of San Luis Potosí, not shown in Figure 2 but verified by a tentative dot map of that state.

I have extracted place names of Caribbean origin from the census statistics of several other states of the center and west of Mexico and have drawn up tentative maps of their distribution. This source will be used to advantage in the continuation of the study because it is readily available and each toponym can be located accurately by municipality. Furthermore, the census volume for each state provides abundant information concerning the toponymy of the lesser geographic features, which are an ample source of the place names under discussion.

Dialectologists have not yet defined clearly the subdivisions of the zone of Mexican Spanish. From the evidence presented here, an investigation of toponyms can contribute definitely to refining and determining their boundaries.

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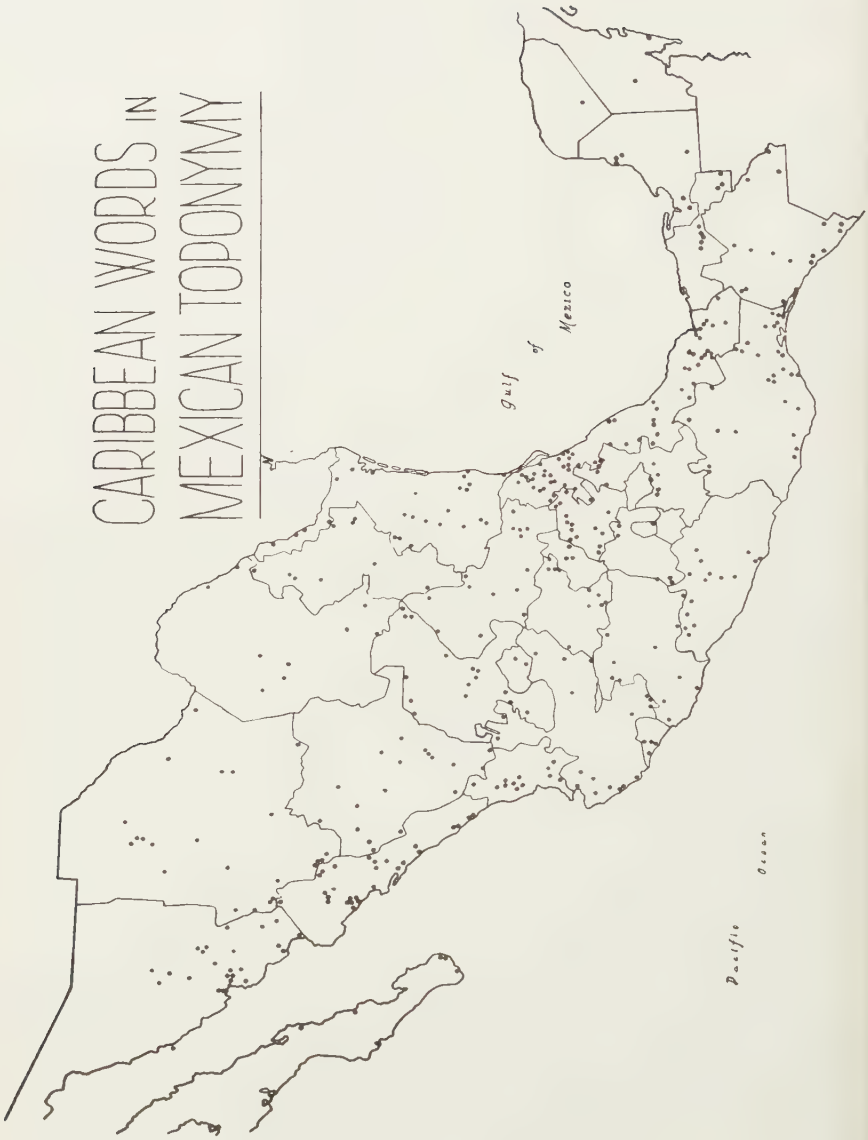
CARIBBEAN WORDS IN
MEXICAN TOPONYMY
Gulf of Mexico
Pacific Ocean

Cart Names in Jamaica

DAVID DECAMP

VISITORS TO KINGSTON always notice and usually photograph the many pushcarts which are used for vending and for transporting goods. These brightly-painted carts appear on postcards and Tourist Board leaflets and are as distinctive a part of the city's local color as are the cable cars in San Francisco. To the tourists the carts are merely colorful items to delight their eyes and their cameras. To most residents of Kingston, they are functional parts of the city's economy. Labor is cheap, and machinery is expensive to obtain and expensive to maintain; it is often cheaper to transport goods from warehouse to retail shop by pushcart than by truck. Furthermore, the narrow streets of downtown Kingston were never designed for motor vehicles; the easily maneuverable carts are often faster for short runs.

To the onomatologist, nowever, these carts have a special appeal. Jamaican law requires some distinctive mark for positive identification in case of theft. A few cart owners paint numbers on their carts or attach discarded automobile license plates. A few paint their own names on the side. A few rely entirely on a brilliant and unusual color combination. However, nearly all owners give fanciful names to their carts. The mechanisms and the motives in naming these carts reflect the cultural background of the Jamaican poorer class and are therefore of onomastic interest.

Most of these carts fall into one of three types: *handtrucks*, *handcarts*, and *snowball carts*. The construction of each of these types is rigidly prescribed by tradition. One seldom finds even slight variations in construction, and the carts differ from each other only in paint job and name. The *handtruck*, sometimes also called a *jobcart*, a *carry-all*, or a *bauu* [ba'u:] *cart*, consists of a heavy rectangular box, approximately four feet long, two and a half feet wide and deep, mounted on four wheels approximately five inches in diameter.

The front wheels are attached to a cross bar which is pivoted for steering and is controlled by ropes extending to a steering wheel (usually from a junked automobile) at the back of the cart. A small platform at the rear enables the cartman to ride down hills -- sometimes at terrifying speeds – and to propel his cart along level ground in the manner of a child's scooter. A trailing strip of automobile tire on which the cartman can step provides an effective brake. A raised platform at the front helps accommodate lighter but bulky loads. Handtrucks frequently carry a load of between five hundred and a thousand pounds.

The *handcart* is similar to a donkey-drawn dray. It is a flat box, approximately five feet square and a foot deep, mounted on two large wagon wheels or (if the cartman is fortunate) regular automobile wheels with tires. The cartman balances and propels a handcart by means of two short shafts which extend to the rear. The handcart is especially suited to carrying large bulky loads and is also used for vending charcoal, fish, coconuts, and other produce. The *snowball cart* is primarily used for vending "snowballs," i.e., fruit syrup poured over shaved ice, but one can usually also buy soft drinks, cakes, cookies, occasionally beer, and (rarely) an illegal tot of rum. Like the handcart, the snowball cart is a large shallow box mounted on two large wheels, but it bears an elaborate and ornamented superstructure and also a pair of legs to enable the cart to stand level when the vendor arrives at a suitable location for business. The superstructure consists of racks for bottles, a glassed-in cabinet for cakes and cookies, and a roof which extends far enough beyond the cart that the vendor and a few of his customers may seek shelter from rain.

Although a lively, original name may attract an employer, the motive in naming is rarely to advertize the services offered, for the names are seldom appropriate to the functions of these three kinds of cart. One would expect names for handtrucks and handcarts to suggest speed and reliability, and indeed one finds *The Rocket*, *Sputnik*, *Sky Rocket* / *The Uptown Contender Transport*, *Spitfire*, *The Ram-rod*, *State Express*, and *Busy Bee Tran* [presumably short for *transport*]. However, only these seven (out of ninety-three different names in my collection for these two types of cart) suggest function. Some are even antithetical to advertizing: *Romeo*, *Rabbit*, and *Leave Me Alone* hardly extol the cartman's services.

Similarly, a promotion-minded cartman would suggest cool refreshment in a name for a snowball cart, and indeed we find *Lady Foote Cooling Station*, *Summer Time*, *Menu Time*, and *Good Luck Bar*, but most names are not especially appropriate to the sale of refreshments. The name *Get There Today* suggests reliable transportation rather than cold drinks.

The name of a cart depends not on its function but on the imagination of its owner. A cart operator is known as a *cartman*, a *come-around*, or a *huutiya* ['hu:'tijɐ]. He usually has no long-term contracts nor fixed prices; he bargains to a suitable price for each job he undertakes, and a job may be a single load or a large shipment requiring many trips. Most cartmen own their own carts, but some rent from an owner who might have several carts and perhaps operate one himself. These owners often give all the carts of their "fleet" one name, distinguishing them from each other by numbers; e.g., *Star of the East No. 5*. As most cartmen hope to own a fleet of carts some day, some will add a *No. 1* to their cart names "to encourage me to get ahead," and a few who own only one cart will use, for example, a pretentious *No. 6*, "just to make me feel prosperous."

Jamaicans enjoy naming things. The place names of Jamaica are a source of onomastic delight: e.g., *Maggotty Pen*, *Look Behind*, *Corn-Puss Gap*, *Me No Sen' You No Come*, *Half Way Tree*. Houses, trucks, sometimes even bicycles are named. Most Jamaicans give a "*nom de plume*" when buying sweepstakes tickets, not primarily (as some have supposed) to avoid their creditors if they should win, but because they hope an original and appropriate *nom de plume* will bring them luck and because thinking up a good name is part of the fun of the sweepstakes. Similarly the Jamaican cart owners explain that their motives in naming are not only to identify their property, but also to bring good luck, to catch the eye of a prospective employer with a bright and unusual name, and to personalize the relationship between cart and owner. As one man put it, "I wouldn't paint only a number on a cart. I'd never get to know the cart then. A good cart deserves more."

George R. Stewart has written,[1] "The essential field of the onomatologist seems ... to be the mechanisms of naming, rather than

[1] *Names*, II (1954), 2.

the motivations of the namers, except in so far as the former at times reflect the latter." The motives of the Jamaican cartmen can indeed be inferred from their mechanisms of naming, as well as from their own accounts of the naming process. Furthermore, both the mechanisms and the motives reflect the social and cultural milieu of the cartman and so are equally relevant to this study.

Nearly all the cart names may be classified on the basis of mechanism into three groups. First are names derived from other names: names of persons, places, political parties, etc. Second are names derived from topics in current events. Third are newly-created names which express the personal mood or aspirations of the owner (e.g., *I Am Lonely*). Of course these categories overlap. A cart named for a political leader, for example, belongs in both the first and the second groups. The classification is notable for what it excludes. Names are almost never drawn from history, never from trees, plants, or common utensils, seldom from animals, religion, or folkore. Few abstractions occur except those involving the personal status of the cartman. And because the names do not depend on the function of the carts, genuine descriptive names are rare.

The cartman who names his cart for a person is usually trying to commemorate a popular hero. Very seldom are the names obscure and unidentifiable, and with only one exception (*Marcus Garvey*) they are all living persons. The cartman's hero is likely to be Negro, especially a Negro who has been involved in racial controversy. This is hardly surprising in a country in which only about one percent of the population is white yet which is by no means free from color prejudice. Furthermore, most of these popular heroes are Americans. Although Jamaica is an English colony, American cultural influence has made increasing inroads through the tourist trade, motion pictures, popular music, and the American bauxite companies. Americanisms seem to be gaining in the linguistic conflicts between *gas* vs. *petrol*, *kerosene* vs. *paraffin*, *drug store* vs. *chemist's*, *aluminum* vs. *aluminium*, etc. American influences are also reflected in cart names.

Cart names which commemorate stage and screen stars include *Bob Hope*, *Doris Day*, *Errol Flynn*, *Marian Anderson*, *Paul Robeson*, *Louis Armstrong*, and *Lena Horne* — all Americans and a majority Negro. Errol Flynn is a figure of special topical interest because he

owns considerable property in Jamaica and is a frequent visitor to the island. An English exception seemed to be *Guinness*, but the cartman insisted that his cart was named for Guinness Stout. The only two athletes honored are American Negroes: *Joe Louis* and *Jackie Robinson*. Racial controversies in the American South have been extensively reported in Jamaican newspapers and heatedly discussed by Jamaicans of all social classes. Three cart names reflect this interest: *Martin Luther King* (the Alabama clergyman), *Authorine* [sic] *Lucy* (the Negro girl who recently sought admission to the University of Alabama), and *Jimmy Wilson* (whose recent death sentence inspired street demonstrations in Kingston). These names also reveal the cartman's desire for a topical name. I first saw the name *Jimmy Wilson* in August, 1958, and it must have been inspired by the earliest publicity given the case.

Other names derived from well-known figures include *Lady Foote* [sic] *Cooling Station*, referring to the wife of the popular ex-governor of Jamaica, Sir Hugh Foot, *Busta Special*, commemorating the Jamaican political leader Sir Alexander Bustamante, *Henry J. Kaiser*, whose company mines bauxite in Jamaica, and *Billy Graham*, whose recent religious meetings in Jamaica were enthusiastically attended. Some Jamaicans find their heroes in the comic strips, and we find carts named *Flash Gordon*, *Buck Rogers*, *Phantom*, *Garth*, and *Mandrake the Magician*. Rarely are persons other than popular heroes commemorated. Of the exceptions, *Rosey* and *Ruby* may be named for sweethearts and *Aunt Sue* probably for a relative. Although I am told that a few cartmen paint their own names on their carts, I have found no examples of this. *Mr. Burry Still Trying*, for example, is not owned by a Mr. Burry.

Topical cart names often reflect local politics. During the 1958 federal election campaign, I saw two handtrucks at the same street intersection, one named *PNP Forever*, the other *Busta Special*. The PNP is the Jamaican majority party, the People's National Party, and *Busta* is the popular nickname of Sir Alexander Bustamante, leader of the opposition party. The new federation of the West Indies inspired the cart names *Federation Star* and *Chaguaramas*, the latter being the American military base in Trinidad which was chosen by the West Indies as the site for the national capital and which has been the subject of considerable political controversy.

During the 1958 election campaign, an obscure street-cleaner named Zebedee Jackson was murdered while returning from a meeting of the Jamaica Labour Party and has since been considered a martyr by that party. The owner of a handtruck insisted that this was the origin of his cart name *Jackson's Labour*. However, the paint on the name was badly weathered, and the name obviously long antedated the Jackson murder. This owner had made his name more topical merely by reinterpreting its etymology.

The successful launching of the Russian satellites in 1957 captured the Jamaican imagination, and within a few days carts were named *Sattelite* [sic] and *Sputnik* (so far, I have seen no carts named for the American Vanguard, Pioneer, or Explorer). The names *The Rocket* and *Sky Rocket | The Uptown Contender Transport* antedated the sputnik but have become much more topical during the past year. One air-age-minded cartman named his cart *Radar* and another (which narrowly missed ramming my automobile) *The Missile*.

A religious society called the Ras Tafari is centered in Kingston. Its members wear beards and long hair, extol the superiority of Negro over white, and claim allegiance to Ethiopia, from which they claim (incorrectly) that their ancestors were brought as slaves. Many members of this cult are cartmen, and the cult is reflected in cart names: *Brother Man* is an appelation assumed by many members. *Peace and Love* is a customary greeting among members. *Back to Africa* reflects their desire for repatriation to Ethiopia, and *Marcus Garvey* commemorates the Negro whom they respect as an early leader in the back-to-Africa movement. The Ras Tafari showed keen interest and sympathy with the Mau Mau rebellions in Kenya. One bearded cartman has named his handtruck *Kikuyu* and another *Kenyatta*, after the Mau Mau leader.

Except for the Ras Tafari members, few cartmen draw their names from religion. Of course Martin Luther King and Billy Graham are religious leaders, but primarily they are popular heroes and names in the news. *Christ Mercy* is the only name whose origin is indisputably religious. Nor are many names drawn from folklore. The name *Get There Today* probably represents the Jamaican proverb, "Take time, get there today; make haste, get there tomorrow." The name *Come Make Me Hold Yuh Hand* is the refrain from a folk

song. But no other songs or proverbs and no characters from the rich folktale literature appear in cart names. The only fictional names which I have seen are *Cinderalla* [sic] and *Romeo*, neither of these from stories likely to be familiar to the cartmen. Although the Jamaican enjoys his folk literature, only recently has he been taught to respect it. Many Jamaicans will conceal any knowledge of folk lore for fear of being thought backward. Similarly many Jamaicans have been taught to despise the local dialects as "broken language" or "bush talk." The spelling of *Yuh* in *Come Make Me Hold Yuh Hand* is the only conscious attempt which I have seen to indicate dialect pronunciation. Influence of the dialect is probably unintentional in *Rain Bud* and *Me Back*. The former would make no sense as *bud*; however, the rainbird is a common Jamaican bird, and in the dialects of the lower classes, *bud* and *bird* are pronounced identically. The name *Me Back* is ambiguous in these dialects: with one pattern of stress and intonation it would mean "my back;" with another it would mean "I am back."

The social psychologist Madeline Kerr[2] has described the personality type of the Jamaican peasant as extra-punitive and inverted, frustrated by a conflict between cultures, between one way of life which the peasant is taught to accept as ideal and another from which he is unable to escape. Although Miss Kerr's research was confined to rural Jamaica, many of her observations seem to apply also to city laborers such as the cartmen. For example, she lists excessive hero worship and escape into fantasy as two common results of this cultural conflict. The hero worship is reflected in the many commemorative cart names already discussed. The cartman's escape fantasies also result in cart names.

The life of the Jamaican cartman is hard, compounded of drudgery, disillusionment, and dreary monotony. Some cart names seem to be attempts at compensation. Some cartmen name their carts with attributes which they wish they themselves possessed or which they wish other people would attribute to them. As one man told me, "I call my cart *Tiger Boy* because that's what I always wished people would call me." Other such names include *Spree Boy*, *Little Hero*, *Funny Man*, *Young Tiger*, *Baby Boy*, *Mambo Boy*, *Spitfire*, *Romeo*, *Rowdy*, *Happy Girl*, *Romance Girl*, and *Honey Love* (the last

[2] *Personality and Conflict in Jamaica* (Liverpool, 1952).

three being names for snowball carts operated by women). A few names to have been selected merely for their favorable connotations, their promise of better days to come: *Prosperity | In God We Trust*, *Good Luck Bar*, *Song and Dance*, and *Dawn*. A larger group reveal a desire for the exotic: *Rising Star*, *Silver Queen*, *Star of the East*, *Western Star*, *Indian Queen*, *Flying Dutchman*, *Jupiter*, *Red Eagle*.

The poor Jamaican frequently believes that he has only three opportunities to improve his lot. He naturally daydreams a great deal about these, and his fantasies are reflected in cart names. First, he may win a sweepstakes. Carts are named *Sweepstakes*, *Winning Ticket*, *Teen Ager* (the name of a winning racehorse), and *Knutsford Park* (the scene of the Jamaican sweepstakes races). Second, he may emigrate to England. The cart *S. S. Auriga* is named for a ship which, until recently, was primarily employed in carrying West Indian emigrants. Third, he may obtain a short-term work contract to do farm work in the United States and hope to return to Jamaica with enough savings to buy a piece of land or a fleet of carts. Many Jamaicans have done this, and their glowing accounts of high wages and city lights have probably added not only the ubiquitous *okay* to the folk vocabulary but also the cart names *Hollywood*, *Chicago*, *New York*, *New Yorker*, *Detroit*, *Miami*, *Michigan*, and *Idaho*. Non-American place names are seldom commemorated in cart names. The only clear exceptions are *Knutsford Park*, which is inseparably associated with the sweepstakes, and *Chaguaramas*, which to most Jamaicans is more of a current event than a place name.

Madeline Kerr also stresses the peasant's lack of opportunity for personal expression and states that this expression sometimes finds devious outlets such as religious fanaticism. A highly unusual outlet for personal expression not noticed by Miss Kerr, is the cart names. Some cartmen pour out their misfortunes, their dissatisfaction with a life which they are unable to improve. One sees *I Am Lonely*, *Lonely Boy*, *Leave Me Alone*, *Remember Me*, *Don't Gamble with Love*, *Black and Hungry*, *Man on Spot*, and *Forget Me Not*. The Jamaican laborer likes to think of himself as carrying on heroically beneath a great load of misfortunes, sustaining himself with hard work and a sense of humor. This attitude appears in the names *Little Hero*, *Little Hero's Daily Bread*, *The Toiling Boy*, *Bread and Butter*, *Daily Bread*, *Me Back*, and *Jackson's Labour* (before this last name was

given a topical reinterpretation). Nowhere have I found a more succinct expression of this common Jamaican personality type than in the name *Mr. Burry Still Trying.*[3]

Of course the trend is toward motor transportation, and eventually the march of progress will banish the little carts with their expressive names, leaving only company-owned motor vans, discreetly labeled *Jamaica Electronics Ltd.* or *The Times Store.* One wonders to what medium the poor Jamaican will then turn to honor his heroes, comment upon the current news, and vent his *weltschmerz.*

University of Texas

[3] A small residue of names in my collection resist all attempt at interpretation. *Lockavon* may be a ship name or a place name which I have been unable to identify. *Hopewell* used to be the name of a small coffee plantation in Jamaica, but one would not expect so minor a place name to be commemorated. *Density Data* and *Immensity Data* may be merely nonsensical results of the Jamaican love of playing with big words (cf. *The Uptown Contender Transport*). And the enigmatic *Cow Head*, *Agle*, *Watch It*, *Gully*, and *Roof Cab* may represent some topical allusion or some slang or argot usage with which I am not familiar.

Survival of Pre-English Place Names in Jamaica

WILLIAM RANDEL

The Spanish period in Jamaica dates from 1494, when Columbus first landed and claimed the island for Ferdinand and Isabella, until 1660, when the last Spanish governor set sail from Runaway Bay (named for the event), harried out of the island by the English. The five years from 1655 to 1660 when the English were mounting their campaign of conquest and carrying it to a successful conclusion, were the only period when the two chief naming groups were together in Jamaica — and their togetherness was hostile. That a substantial body of Spanish and other pre-English place-names survived at all must be credited chiefly to the Negroes and the Portuguese Jews who were resident before, during, and after the struggle for sovereignty.[1]

Some pre-English place-names did not survive at all, some survived only briefly, a very few have survived intact, and others — the most interesting — have undergone major linguistic surgery. This paper gives selected examples of all four types.

Columbus gave his discovery the name Santa Gloria, now completely gone, but his second name, Santa Ana, borrowed from a place in Valencia, which he thought it resembled,[2] survives in Anglicized form. The Spanish Bahia de Santa Ana is now St. Ann's Bay, and the town by that name is the capital of the parish of St. Ann, one of the twelve original parishes formed by the English in 1660. Typical of place-name confusion is the assertion by some

[1] General historical background for this paper has been taken from numerous historical accounts of Jamaica, but particularly from Francisco Morales Padrón, *Jamaica Española*, Seville, 1952. I am happy to acknowledge the valuable aid of Alan Soons, tutor in Spanish at the University College of the West Indies.

[2] Andrés Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos don Fernando y dona Isabel* (Seville, 1870), vol. II, chapter CXXV, cited in Padrón, p. 4, n. 3.

writers[3] that the name honored Anne Hyde, wife of James II; her name may have helped to preserve the Spanish appellation.

Just to the west of the town of St. Ann's Bay, on a plantation called Seville, are the ruins of Sevilla la Nueva, founded by the Spaniards in 1510 as their first capital of Jamaica. Excavations have outlined some of the buildings and have also turned up some evidence of the earlier Indian village on the same site, Maima. French pirates sacked Sevilla la Nueva in 1554, and it was never rebuilt by the Spaniards although some people continued to live there, or lived there intermittently. The Spanish capital had been transferred earlier to Santiago de la Vega, near the south coast.

Two other very early Spanish settlements are less readily located. Oristan, named for Orista, a municipality in the province of Barcelona, must have been on the south coast of Jamaica, on Bluefields Bay. Richard Blome recorded in 1672 that "*Orista* reguards the *South-Sea*,"[4] and also reported an alternate form, Oristan.[5] Hans Sloane, visiting Jamaica in 1688, speaks of Oristan as if it were still there at that date,[6] but he mentioned several other places that he never saw. A third early settlement, Mellila, named for a Spanish town on the North African coast, has been variously located in Jamaica, but most reliably at the site of the present Port Maria[7] on the north coast. Richard Blome dismissed Sevilla la Nueva, Oristan, and Mellila as being "now of no account,"[8] a picturesque way of recording their decline before 1672.

A name that hung on more stubbornly was Cagua. The Spanish form, Caguaya, was applied both to the large anchorage now known as Kingston Harbor and to the port, Puerto de Caguaya, serving the permanent Spanish capital Santiago de la Vega. It was also applied, at one stage, to the river (now Rio Cobre) which empties into the harbor near by. Spanish maps and records fix the town's location beyond the shadow of a doubt; but the English casually moved the name across to the point later called Port Royal and also respelled

[3] Cited in *Place Names of Jamaica*, ed. Frank Cundall, revised by Philip M. Sherlock (Kingston, 1939). p. 8.

[4] Richard Blome, *Description of Jamaica* (1672), p. 38.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[6] Hans Sloane, *A Voyage to Jamaica* (London, 1707), vol. I, p. iii.

[7] Padrón, *Jamaica Española*, endpaper map and passim.

[8] Blome, p. 37.

it as Cagway. In both the *Acts of the Privy Council* and the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, the name Cagway persisted for some time after Port Royal officially replaced it: in 1661 it was referred to as "the fort of Cagway,"[9] "Point Cagway,"[10] and "Point Cagua."[11] Some entries reflect awareness of both old and new names: e.g., "Port Royal late called Point Cagua."[12] On July 2-3, 1661, the growing importance of the town was reflected in this order of the Governor and Council: "that 40 licences to sell drink be granted to the inhabitants of Point Cagua, 10 for the town [i.e., Santiago de la Vega], four for Passage Fort, three for Ligonee, two for Yallah, and two for Port Morant."[13] This gives a clear notion of the places in Jamaica of any importance in 1661; and the topheavy grant to Point Cagua suggests that the town was already approaching the reputation Port Royal later earned as the wickedest town on earth. The name Cagway soon disappeared, although Hans Sloane on his visit in 1688 refers to Port Royal as "this Point, which was called Point-Cagway."[14] Richard Blome in 1672 spoke of "Port Royal, formerly called Cagway,"[15] but elsewhere spoke of silver mines west of Cagway.[16] The earliest known English map, dated 1661, gives the form Poynt Caggoway.[17] The Rev. George Wilson Bridges, in a book published as late as 1827, speaks of "Careening Point (Caguaya);"[18] this is a rare reference to the Spanish name, Cayo Careno, for the long sand spit now named The Palisadoes, connecting Port Royal with the mainland. Bridges is generally unreliable, however; he may have misread Puerto as Punto in giving the form Punto de Caguayo, a proper enough form but one never used by the Spaniards in Jamaica.

Santiago de la Vega gave way with great reluctance to Spanish Town, the present name. Both names were often given, but the former was partly Anglicized to St. Jago de la Vega. Monk Lewis, reporting a trip in 1816, speaks of "Spanish Town, otherwise called

[9] *Acts of the Privy Council*, I, 159, entry #511 dated 29 April 1661.

[10] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, vol. 2, 1661–1668 (London, 1880), p. 5, letter sent by Governor D'Oyley.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 37, entry for June 18, 1661.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 38, a different entry for June 18, 1661.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 43. [14] Sloane, I, lix.

[15] Blome,p. 30. [16] Blome, p. 27.

[17] Edm. Hickeringill, *Jamaica View'd*, 2nd ed., London, 1661.

[18] *The Annals of Jamaica* (2 vols., London, 1827), I, 246.

St. Jago de la Vega,"[19] and *The Jamaica Almanac for the Year 1832* speaks of "Spanish-Town, or St. Jago de la Vega, the Capital."[20]

A few early names survived intact, or virtually so. The Spanish Punto de Morante and Bahia de Morante (named for one of several important Spanish families with that name) survive as Morant Point and Morant Bay. Mammee Bay, on Spanish maps Bahia Larga, got its name from the Mayma or Maima which was the original Indian village on whose site Sevilla la Nueva was built; the name occurs today in several parts of Jamaica -- Mammee Bay at the eastern tip, and, in the interior, Mammee Ridge and Mammee Gully. Sloane lists the Mammee tree in his catalogue of flora;[21] all the mammee forms may derive from this Arawak base.

Of nine *hatos* (grazing areas) known in the Spanish era, only one survives unchanged in form, Liguanea, but it has known several variants in spelling and pronunciation. It may be the Hispanized form of an Arawak word, *iguana*, meaning lizard; certainly lizards are common enough, feared by the uneducated natives and eaten, to their subsequent distress, by the cats. Related forms occur elsewhere in the West Indies. Visitors today often have trouble with the name; one mistake is pronouncing the final *a*, thus making four syllables. The records show similar difficulties among the early English settlers. The first English map spells it "Legonee."[22] Other forms I have found include "Lygonee,"[23] "Ligonia,"[24] "Liguiania,"[25] "Ligonea,"[26] "Liguany,"[27] and "Liguanee."[28] Kingston has in recent years overflowed its corporate area and now fills most of the Liguanea plain, prompting a suggestion by Jamaica's most respected historian, W. Adolphe Roberts, that "some future generation will rechristen our capital Liguanea."[29] Unfortunately, place-name changes are seldom as sensible and plausible as this would be.

[19] Matthew Gregory Lewis, *Journal of a Residence among the Negroes in the West Indies* (London, 1861), p. 81.

[20] Kingston, 1832, p. 26. [21] Sloane, II, 123.

[22] Hickeringill, *Jamaica View'd.*

[23] *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 2, p. 5, entry for July 2–3, 1661.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 109, entry for September 2, 1662.

[25] *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 1720–1745, p. 742, entry for December 16, 1742.

[26] Noel B. Livingston, *Sketch Pedigrees of some of the Early Settlers in Jamaica*, Kingston, 1909. [27] Bridges, p. 177. [28] Sloane, I, liii.

[29] *The Capitals of Jamaica*, ed. W. Adolphe Roberts (Kingston, 1955), p. x.

Other Spanish names with little or no change are Port Antonio, Negril Point (from Punta del Negrillo), Lucea (from Punta Lucía), and Montego Bay, presumably from *manteca*, meaning lard.[30] The Spanish river names commonly retain the "Rio" — Rio Cobre, Rio Minho, Rio Grande, Rio Nuevo, Rio Bueno; but modern pronunciation is sometimes startling: ['raio 'njuvou], ['raio 'bjunou]. Mountain names, however, do not retain the "Sierra" or "Montanas;" instead, we find Mount Diablo, Don Figuerero Mountains, Mocho Mountains, Santa Cruz Mountains. The same is true of points, ports, bays, and other coastal features, and also of a few rivers: Cabaritta River, Montego River, Morant River.

Survivals in distinctively modified or multilated forms are not numerous. One *hato* in southeastern Jamaica, Ayala, took its name from a prominent Spanish family. In 1661 two forms appeared, "Yallah" in an order of the Governor and Council,[31] and "Yallowes" on the first English map.[32] A 1664 form was "Yellowe,"[33] and from 1672 comes "Yallowe."[34] Hans Sloane in 1688 noted the form "Yallah."[35] A Jamaica resident named in 1778[36] was "Captain Yhallah's," but whether this personal name influenced the final form, Yallahs, would be hard to determine. Monk Lewis in 1817 reported both "Yallacks River" and "Yallack River,"[37] revealing his ignorance of the region. *The West India Atlas* of 1783 gave "Yallah" for river, point, and bay.[38]

The best-known toponymic change in Jamaica turned the Agua Alta into the Wag Water River. Hans Sloane gives both forms: "at a place called Wague Water,"[39] and "about Agua Alta."[40] Blome in 1672 wrote it solid as "Wagwater."[41] By 1783 the present form was well established.[42] Ocho Rios is more troublesome. Padrón gives "Las Chorreros,"[43] meaning the spouts. The first English map garbled it as "Echucecas,"[44] and Hans Sloane added to the con-

[30] Sloane, II, 123. Another early form, Mantega, is suggested by W. J. Gardner in his *A History of Jamaica from its Discovery by Christopher Columbus to the Year 1672* (London, 1909), p. 13.

[31] *Calendar of State Papers*, II, 43. [32] Hickeringill, *Jamaica View'd.*

[33] *Sketch Pedigrees*, p. 89. [34] Blome, map. [35] Sloane, I, vii, and map.

[36] *Acts of the Privy Council*, I, 761–73 (revised laws for Jamaica).

[37] Lewis, *Journal*, pp. 163, 171.

[38] London, 1783, Plate II. [39] Sloane, I, lxix. [40] Sloane, I, 180.

[41] Blome, map. [42] *The West Indies Atlas*, 1783, Plate I.

[43] Padrón, p. 353. [44] Hickeringill, *Jamaica View'd.*

fusion by speaking of "the place called *Ocho Rios*, corruptly Chireros."[45] By 1783 the Ocho Rios form was fixed,[46] but there is still public confusion caused in part by the fact that several small streams, possibly eight in number, there enter the sea. I have found no evidence of a "Bogua Agua" as predecessor of Bog Walk; the 1911 *Handbook of Jamaica* applies the name Bog Walk to the spectacular narrow gorge of the Rio Cobre between Spanish Town and the present town of Bog Walk. A form *boca agua* or *bogua agua* must be assigned only a conjectural existence.[47] Another conjecture derives Martha Brae from a Spanish form *Murta bran* as a possible corruption of *mar de brea*, meaning an oily-surfaced marsh such as now exists at the river's mouth. A Scottish settler ignorant of Spanish may well have applied the present form reminiscent of Scotland.

Jamaica place-names need a thorough study. The Yates-Thompson paper, read at Salamanca in 1955,[48] is admittedly provisional; so, obviously, is mine. It is to be hoped that the Caribbean Linguistic Survey, now in progress at the University College of the West Indies under the able direction of Dr. Robert Le Page and Professor Cassidy, will someday do the place-name job thoroughly. At the moment, however, the field is wide open for some adventurous husbandman.

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[45] Sloane, I, 228. [46] *The West Indies Atlas*, 1783, Plate I.

[47] The *DA* lists *boca* as "the mouth of a river, gorge, etc." Professor Cassidy, in his MS *Jamaica Talk*, observes (p. 117): "... Bog Walk, one of the earliest Jamaica place names, is understood to be from *Boca de Agua*, referring to the deep gorge of the river," and again (p. 118), "when one thinks of the many distortions to which Spanish names were subjected, there is little difficulty in accepting *bogue* (or *bog*) as coming from *boca*." *Place Names of Jamaica* (p. 7) suggests that two Arawak words, *bogua* and *Cagua*, were telescoped as *bocagua* and later Anglicized as Bog Walk. The term *walk* is frequently found in such combinations as "cocoa walk" and "banana walk," meaning a specialized planting area smaller than or part of a plantation; it is also sometimes used simply as a pathway or trail. The present town of Bog Walk is just above the gorge of the Rio Cobre, well inland; most bogues in Jamaica were close to the sea.

[48] C. S. Yates and R. W. Thompson, *Algunes notas provisionales sobre la toponimia española de Jamaica* (6e Congres international de Sciences Onomastiques, Salamanca, 1955).

Portuguese Family Names

GERALD M. MOSER

> His name was *Pedro de Mendez;* he was a very courteous and generous person.
> Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, Part IV, Chapter 11.

If you have ever been puzzled by the names of Judge *Cardozo*, of writer John *Dos Passos*, or of tennis star Victor *Seixas*, you have come upon the enigma of the Portuguese family names and their migration to the United States. Such names have also left their mark on the map of our country here and there, as in the cases of Point *Cabrillo*, California;[1] *Tavares*, Florida; *Rego* Park, Long Island, New York; and *Castroville*, Texas.[2]

The names have a peculiar ring in Portuguese aers and minds, as many of them, apart from their rich vowel sounds or their references to cities or castles in Portugal and Spain, evoke the noblemen among their early bearers who made Portugal an independent country in the Middle Ages when they reconquered the territory from the Moors, or who gained an empire overseas in the sixteenth century in Africa, Asia and America. The music of their names has appealed to the imagination of the Portuguese, as it did to my own, ever since Luís de Camões consigned them in the thundering lines of his epic poem:

[1] Point Cabrillo reflects the Spanish spelling of the nickname of João *Rodrigues Cabrilho* – "the Kid," perhaps a play on words, if the Viscount De Lagoa was correct in assuming that this Portuguese navigator was born in one of the many villages in Portugal called *Cabril* (*João Rodrigues Cabrilho*, A Biographical Sketch, Lisbon, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1957, p. 19).

[2] *Castroville*, Texas, -- there is another town of the same name in California – was named after its founder, Henry *Castro*, a Portuguese Jew from France, who came to Providence, R.I., in 1827. From there he went to Texas in 1842, launching a colonization scheme, mainly on land near San Antonio. I came upon the story in the Genealogy Department of the Dallas Public Library, on the eve of reading to the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese a paper on "Cultural Linguistics: The Case of the Portuguese Family Names" (December 28, 1957). The present article is an enlarged version of that paper.

Um *Pacheco* fortíssimo, e os temidos
Almeidas, por quem sempre o Tejo chora;
Albuquerque terríbil, *Castro* forte...
E outros em quem poder não teve a morte.
(*Pacheco* strong, the dread *Almeidas* twain,
For whom yet Tagus grieves with sad lament,
And *Albuquerque* stern and *Castro* brave,
And all who scaped dominion of the grave.)[3]

I became more conscious than ever of their poetic spell during a visit to the royal palace at Sintra near Lisbon, in the company of Portuguese colleagues. As we were raising our eyes to the ceiling of the Hall of the Deer, one of the Portuguese present explained the significance of the seventy-two escutcheons minus one (that of the ill-fated *Távoras*) which are painted there. He rolled off his tongue the names of some noble families represented, then exclaimed in rapture: "Que nomes tão clangorosos!" — How clangorous!

It is obvious then that a study of family names, even of modest scope, can introduce us to the mentality of a people. Family names especially, since they are given us, not by ourselves, but usually by others, reflect folk ways in a given place during a given period. Proceeding from the most ancient to the most recent, one might reconstruct a people's cultural history in a new way.

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[3] *Os Lusíadas*, Canto I, st. 14, ll. 5–8, English translation by Leonard Bacon, New York, 1950.

A recent Brazilian imitator of Camões enumerates in a similar fashion the proudest names in the history of the westward movement of the pioneers of S. Paulo in the seventeenth century. An Indian companion asks *Raposo*, the leader of a new westward expedition, to remember the misfortunes of his predecessors:

> Contempla êstes destroços desfalcados / dos nomes mais soberbos. Onde os braços / que a Pátria conformaram, que nos Pampas, / por todo o Litoral e rumo aos Andes / invencíveis em glórias se estenderam? / Os *Prados* onde e os *Lemes* e os *Camargos* / e os dois *Domingos* feros e a postura / de *Pedroso de Barros* que nos Andes / repousa enaltecida? onde os *Andradas*, / *Junqueiras*, *Azevedos* e os *Carvalhos* / *de Cajurú?* ...
>
> Carlos Alberto Nunes, *Os Brasileidas*, S. Paulo, 1938, Canto I, ll. 130–140.
>
> ("Consider these cheated, ruined bearers of the proudest names. Where are the hands that shaped our country and reached out in the Pampas, along the entire coast and toward the Andes, invincible and glorious? Where are the *Prados* now, the *Lemes* and *Camargos*, the two savage *Domingos*, and where *Pedroso de Barros* who rested his tall frame on the Andes? Where the *Andradas*, *Junqueiras*, *Azevedos* and the *Carvalhos de Cajurú?*").

In order to arrive at a few general ideas with the required caution in the case of the Portuguese family names, I have sought to answer four simple questions: What kinds of names do the Portuguese have? What do the names mean? Where may they be found? And, how does one recognize them as Portuguese?

1. *The different types of Portuguese family names*

On looking at Portuguese family names one realizes soon that they fall into roughly the same few categories as the personal names of all other peoples that speak Indo-European languages. They can be reduced to the four types defined for English by Ernest Weekley, among others: a) baptismal or first names and their derivations, such as *Jack* and *Jackson*; b) place names and their derivations, such as *Hill* and *Lee*; c) nicknames derived from physical or mental peculiarities, such as *Black* and *Short*; and finally, d) names derived from occupations and social positions, such as *Taylor* and *Ward*.

A) Some of the best known Portuguese writers have names which fall into the first category: Gil *Vicente*, Francisco *Manuel* de Melo, or, among contemporaries, Afonso *Duarte*, João *Gaspar Simões*, Agostina Bessa *Luís*. Baptismal names, even feminine ones, such as [*da*] *Rosa*, have frequently been changed to family names, without any alteration, originally because they were the father's first name, and in some cases, the mother's. Some ancient, now obsolete baptismal names are thus preserved as family names, for example *Godinho*, which is perhaps a short form of the Gothic name *Godzuindo*.[4] To call an individual by two names is one of the oldest ways of identifying him. The second name is usually his father's. Father's names, designated as "patronymics," may, but need not be, specified by the addition of certain endings, such as *-son* or simple *-s* in English, or such as *-es* and *-az* in Portuguese. Portuguese names with such endings show their age, for the ending is one of the few survivals of the Latin genitive case. *Simões* thus used to mean "son of *Simão*," *Enes* "son of *Ennes*," (earlier *Eannes*, and still earlier *Joannes*, the modern *João*), *Pires*, "son of *Pero*," *Pero* being the older, popular form of the name *Pedro*, a patronymic once so common that it has given rise to

[4] The first nobleman who seems to have taken the surname of *Azevedo* in the eleventh century was a D. *Godinho* Viegas, a descendant on his mother's side of a D. *Goduzindo*, Count of Lugo. The same short form *Goda* has given the modern German name of *Goethe*.

the saying "é muito pires," when someone does something very ordinary. Most of the original baptismal names from which many of the Portuguese patronymics are derived are, like the similar Castilian patronymics, so ancient in fact that few parents would want to use them for their children at present. *Vaz*, and *Garcia*, *Nunes*, *Moniz*, *Dias*, *Alves* and perhaps also *Pais* go back to the Basque names *Velasco* (from *belex-co*, "son of the raven, of the black one") and Garcia (from *hartz*, "bear"), and to names of various dark origins: *Nonnio*, *Monnio* (?), *Dídaco*, *Álvaro* and *Pelágio* (through the stages of *Pelágici*, *Peláez*, and *Páez*). Even *Lopes* may go back to an Iberian or a Germanic name, meaning "wolf," and translated into Latin as *Lupus*.[5] Other names look very Germanic and must have been introduced by the Visigothic nobility, but they went out of fashion by the end of the middle ages already. Such were *Aria*, which has given *Arias*, then *Aires*, *Ermengildo*, transformed into *Menendo*, then *Mendo*, which has given *Mendes*, *Sueiro*, which originated *Soares*, *Gueda*, now in *Guedes*, *Gund-salo*, preserved in *Gonçalves*, *Froila*, preserved in *Forjaz*, *Ruod-ric* in *Rodrigues*, and a puzzling short form *Gomo*, which may have been preserved in *Gomes*.

Due to the influence of the Christian Church and the cult of the popular saints, the Greek and Latin baptismal names which had given rise to *patronymics* have remained in favor. Some have already been mentioned, such as *Enes* and *Pires*. *Antunes*, from *António*, or rather *Antom*, should be added; it reflects the devotion for St. Anthony of Padua, a native of Lisbon. Fashion has left its mark here, too; the commonness of the family name *Martins*, compared with the rarity of *Martim* as a first name in present day Portugal,

[5] The genitive case forms ("of so-and-so") of names had many different endings originally. However, as J. Leite de Vasconcelos pointed out in his *Antroponímia portuguesa* (p. 111ff.), "the patronymics in *-az*, *-oz*, *-uz* did not remain alive with a function of their own beyond the thirteenth or fourteenth century... The *-es* form [Latinized *-ici* > *-izi* > *-iz* > *-ez* > *-es*] is the most common of all and the one which lived on longest, completely replacing those that gradually died off from the thirteenth or fourteenth century on." The process of forming names in *-es* is neatly illustrated by Carnoy (*Le latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions*, 2d ed., Brussels, 1906, p. 235): "The grandfather is *Lupus*, the father *Lupicus*, the son is *Lupici* and from then on all the descendents are *Lupici* and this patronymic can be transmitted in this fixed form as a family name until we get the *Lopez* [Portuguese *Lopes*] of today." The only trouble is that names such as *Lupicus*, *Pelagicus*, etc. do not occur in the medieval Latin documents, so that some mystery persists about the origins of *-ici* on the Iberian Peninsula.

clearly shows that the cult of the sainted French Bishop must have been popular in medieval Portugal where French influence was strongly felt. *Marques*, from *Marcus*, *Domingues*, from *Dominicus* via *Domingo*, and *Esteve(n)s*, from *Stephanos*, point to similar fluctuations in devotion.

Even the Moorish rule has left a faint trace among the patronymics; for the name *Viegas* goes back to *iben Egas*, i.e. "son (or daughter) of Egas." In modern times further semitic forms, such as *Bensaùde* and *Bensabat* and *Abecas(s)is* have been brought to Lisbon by Jewish families, probably arrivals from Morocco.

Though patronymics already appear in the ancient *Upanishads* of the Hindu Brahmins and in Homer's *Iliad*, they are not found in the oldest documents of the Iberian Peninsula. In these, single baptismal names identify the individual, a custom surviving into modern times in the single names of monarchs, such as *D. Manuel II*, and of very popular writers, such as *Camilo*, whose full name was Camilo Castelo Branco; "...first names — for you adore first names in your nation where only five family names exist," as the French writer Jean Giraudoux observed, with some exageration (*La journée portugaise*, Paris, 1920, p. 199). Patronymics begin to appear in Portugal as in other regions of the Peninsula from the early years of the tenth century on. We read, for example, of a certain *Odario Dauiz*, son of *Dauid Abba* ("the Abbot"), in a document dated 907. Both men and women followed the custom so that husband and wife would always keep different names. The first King of Portugal, son of *Henrique*, Count of Burgundy, is known to this day as *D. Afonso Henriques*, the same as in the twelfth century, his own time. In her day, the famous *Inês de Castro*, illegitimate daughter of *Don Pedro de Castro*, was also called *Enes Perez* (Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, ed. A. Sérgio, Oporto, n.d., vol. I, 403). By the early part of the fifteenth century, patronymics were current among the common citizenry of Lisbon.[6] Even now the common country people frequently form patronymics, though not by means of an ending but by linking them to the individuals' name with the combined preposition-article word *do*, e.g. *o Zé do António*. In other instances the mother's name is added by means of *da*, e.g. *António da Alice*.[7]

[6] In the *Livro dos milagros do Bom Jesus de S. Domingos de Lisboa*, begun in 1432. See Appendix 2.

Note 7, s. page 35

The process of transforming patronymics into hereditary family names began during the second half of the fifteenth century, however, and seems to have been completed in the sixteenth, according to Leite de Vasconcelos (*Antroponímia portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1928, pp. 115, 117). What led to the fixation of family names then? The number of available and appealing names had shrunk as the Catholic Church frowned on many of the heathenish Iberian and Germanic names, yet the population kept growing and gathering in cities. Here, merchants and royal officials must have felt that family names had to be adopted in order to avoid utter confusion in the records. As elsewhere in Europe, beginning in Venice and other North Italian cities of the tenth century, not only patronymics solidified into hereditary family names, but placenames and nicknames as well.

B) At first, family names were surnames, given only to those who had made a name for themselves, i.e. the nobility. Thus, place names were adopted by the nobles in Portugal as early as the eleventh century. One of the earliest was *Da Maia*, made famous later on by the title of Eça de Queiroz' novel *Os Maias*. Evidently such surnames defined a man by his property; the use of the particle *de* indicated the possession and its importance. Yet the usage became general among the Portuguese nobility in the fifteenth century only.[8]

Not all placenames indicated property. Some designated a person's origin, as in the case of a *Pero Portugal* in the fourteenth century. Others indicated a person's dwelling, regardless of his rank in society, and this is still a common way of naming in the Portuguese countryside. An example is *Maria da Fonte*, (Mary of the Well), who gave her name to a popular uprising in Northern Portugal in the past century.

Fed by so many sources, place names abound among the family names. Anyone who has read Fernão Lopes' chronicle of King John I knows of the eagerness with which the upper middle classes in Lis-

[7] The combination *do* (*da*) may also link a woman's name to that of her husband and *vice versa* in the Portuguese villages: "Whenever she was addressed as 'Madame' or as 'Senhora Dona Joana' her eyes became bright with joy. In the village of Sardoal she had always been 'Aunt Joana' when people spoke to her, and when they talked about her they said 'Joana of the Main Street' or 'a Joana do Ti Tonho Silva' (Uncle Tony Silva's Johanna), as António Silva was her dead husband's name." Castro Soromenho, *Viragem*, Lisbon, 1957, pp. 36–37.

[8] Leite de Vasconcelos, *Antroponímia portuguesa*, 164.

bon particularly strove to acquire the same privileges as the nobility. Running through the list of "fidalgos and citizens" who, according to Lopes, helped the Master of Aviz gain the Portuguese throne at the end of the fourteenth century, he will not be surprised to find the same type of place names appear as the surnames of the vast majority of city dwellers, whether they were noble or not: *Nogueira*, *de Lemos*, *do Casal*, etc.[9] The list also contains a considerable number of patronymics, such as *Lourenço* and *Vaasquez.*

C) The third type, nicknames, occurs much less in Fernão Lopes' medieval list, though one finds *Valente*, ("Valiant"), *Fariseu*, ("Pharisee"), *Furtado*, ("Changeling"). Actually, nicknames, or *alcunhas*, are exceedingly common in Portuguese territories, as in every closely-knit community. What Maria de Lourdes de Oliveira Monteiro reported from Porto Santo in the Madeira Arquipelago represents the rule, I feel: "It is curious to note the extremely frequent use of nicknames, given in general without malice or any intention of debasement, but often originating from amusing circumstances which occurred while people were working together. Yet those nicknames stick to the individual throughout his lifetime and are transmitted to his children.

I may state that there is not a single householder in Porto Santo without a more or less ingenious and friendly nickname.

For example, we have José the Scrivener, an eloquent and bold fellow; Luís the Trap, who has prominent jaws; João Fathead, who has a somewhat deformed head; José Peck (actually, Gallon), who had been a miller." ("É curioso notar o emprego frequentíssimo de alcunhas, postas em geral sem maldade nem intenção de depreciar, nascidas muitas vezes de circunstâncias engraçadas ocorridas no trabalho em conjunto, mas que ficam a marcar o indivíduo para toda a vida e se transmitem à sua descendência.

Posso afirmar que não há um único *casal* no Porto Santo que não tenha o seu *apelido*, mais ou menos engenhoso, mais ou menos benévolo.

Temos, por exemplo: *José*, *o Escrivão*, homem bem falante e nada acanhado; *Luís o Cachada*, de rosto de maxilares salientes; *João*, *o Cabeçudo*, de cabeça um tanto deformada; o *JoséMaquia*, que foi moleiro;" etc. "Porto Santo," *Revista Portuguesa de Filologia*, II, 1948, pp. 59–60).

[9] See Appendix 1.

D) Going back once more to the list given by Fernão Lopes, to look for family names derived from occupations, we find only two, *Barateiro* ("peddler") and *Carregueiro* ("driver"). Considering the rarity of occupational family names in modern Portugal, it may be suspected that even these names do not indicate actual professions but were nicknames. How is one to explain the reluctance of the Portuguese to the use of occupational names? In this respect, Portugal contrasts sharply with countries like Germany, replete with *Schmidts* and *Muellers*, England, with its *Millers* and *Smiths*, or France with its *Lefèvres* and *Meuniers*. Is it due to the ancient inferiority attaching to crafts or manual labor in general? When names became fixed in Portugal, much of the labor was, it is true, performed by despised outsiders — Jews, Moors, and the numerous African slaves. But the desire to adopt the names of the noble families must have been a more powerful reason, for the sake of the protection which the noble houses could afford the commoner who was their client.[10] Besides, the occupation of an individual is even today considered so personal a characteristic in Portugal that a man named Gomes who is a tailor will be referred to condescendingly in con-

[10] Because of the privileges enjoyed by the Portuguese nobles, the eagerness of Portuguese commoners, especially when they were far from their places of birth, to adopt noble names became so pronounced that foreigners remarked about it. An Italian, F. Sassetti, wrote from Portugal in the sixteenth century: "An *Almeida*, a *Noronha*, a *Menezes* may be a nobleman, as he may be a farmer or a craftsman; everybody takes the surname (they call it *Alcunha* in their language) which he pleases." (*Biblioteca economica*, Milan, 1874, p. 133.) Similarly, the Frenchman Mocquet observed in Goa, Portuguese India, in 1608: "As soon as they (i.e. the Portuguese soldiers) get there, no matter how ordinary and abject they may be, they all consider themselves noble fidalgos, changing their obscure names to more illustrious ones." (Quoted by Maurice Collis in *The Land of the Great Image*, New York, 1943, p. 20.) The same trait, not exclusive of the Portuguese, could be observed in the early nineteenth century, when the foremost writer, wishing to shine in aristocratic Lisbon society changed his plebeian name of *Silva Leitão* to that of *Almeida Garrett* and was made a viscount. However, he did not hide his middle class origin as did a prime minister some years later: "António José *da Villa* is the real name of the illustrious minister. His father, an honest plebeian, called himself simply Master José *da Villa*. *Avila* is merely the aristocratic mask of the parvenu." (Antero de Quental, "Carta as Exmo Sr. Antonio José d'Avila, Marquez d'Avila, Presidente do Conselho de Ministros," 1871, in *Prosas*, II, Lisbon, n.d., p. 145.)

On March 31, 1520, King Manuel I of Portugal issued a decree prohibiting the adoption of noble names by commoners. Converted Jewish families were exempted, however. Leite de Vasconcelos quotes the decree in *Antroponímia portuguesa*, p. 327.

versational style as *o Gomes alfaiate*, ("that Tailor Gomes"), same manner in which tradesmen and officials were identified in the Lisbon of the fifteenth century (see Appendix 2).

E) A fifth type of family name exists in Portugal, which has not yet been mentioned. It includes names due to religious devotion, similar to but not identical with the cult of the saints which has furnished so many baptismal names. These peculiar devotional names are not used as first names in Portugal, although some of them are commonly used thus in Spain.

According to Leite de Vasconcelos, such names as *Gonçalo de Christo*, which are recorded for the twelfth century, were rare in medieval Portugal but spread from the sixteenth century on.[11] At that time a return to a purer Christianity was attempted. Monks and nuns were the first to substitute new religious names for their worldly ones. Students of literature are familiar with such sixteenth century names as *D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires*, or seventeenth century names, of which there are many more, such as *Soror Violante do Céu* and *Frei António das Chagas*. The laymen followed suit, expressing their devotion to Christ or certain images of him in the family names *Cristo*, *do Nascimento*, *das Chagas* and *dos Passos*. Similar invocations of the Virgin Mary resulted in the names *da Santa Maria*, *do Carmo*, *da Conceição*, *da Graça*, *dos Anjos*, *da Luz*, *das Neves*, *das Dores*, etc. Lisbon is unique in having a Bank of the Holy Ghost; this bank is named *Espírito Santo* after the family that owns it. The telephone directory of Lisbon reveals other weird combinations when devotional names are wedded to others: *Homem Cristo*, *Pena das Dores*, *A. Alegria Nogueira das Dores*, and the firm of Alegria dos Anjos, Limitada. Devotion need not always be the origin of devotional names. People with the names *dos Santos* or *da Trindade* may also owe them to the name of a church or a convent in their parish, while an individual who played the part of one of the wise men from the Orient in a *reisada* on January 6 might have earned the nickname *dos Reis*. At any rate, the devotional type furnishes some of the most common and typical Portuguese names of our day, faithfully reflecting the conservative, religious feelings of a large part of the population. However, *Ramos* and *Cruz*, two names which seem devotional, are not so, for *Ramos* has nothing to

[11] *Antroponímia portuguesa*, pp. 137–139.

do with Palm Sunday (*Domingo de Ramos*), being derived from the name of many places in the Minho and Beira provinces, while *da Cruz* refers to people who used to live near a wayside cross.

2. *The Meaning of Portuguese Names*

With *da Cruz* we have entered the domain of etymology. In fact, devotional names are easy to explain, or so it seems. Thus the name of the Brazilian poet *Augusto dos Anjos* can be derived from *Nossa Senhora dos Anjos*, "Our Lady of the Angels," the patron virgin of the church near Assisi which Saint Francis caused to be rebuilt. Machado *de Assis*, another well-known Brazilian, owes the second part of his name to the same popular devotion to the Franciscan order. Knowledge of the religious orders will help to explain *Neri*, *Padua*, *Sales* and *Sena* as due to invocations of St. Filippo Neri, St. Anthony of Padua, St. François de Salles and St. Bernardino or St. Catherine of Siena.

Compared with the family names in other countries farther north, or even with the place names in their own country, the Portuguese render the interpretation of their family names relatively easy by the uniformity with which they spell them. The form of all types of names has changed little since Fernão Lopes wrote his chronicles in the fifteenth century, apart from simplifications.[12] Consequently, they do not lend themselves to studies of regional and dialectal variations or of the evolution of the language. I suspect that the official fixation of the written forms occurred too late in Portugal to reflect regional pronunciation.

Etymologists concentrate therefore on Portuguese place names. Their derivation will also take care of a large number of family names. Although many of them refer to particular places, they are so general in meaning and yet so widespread that they lend a rural charm to Portuguese names as a whole. Thus, more people are named after trees in Portugal than anywhere else. In England, names like *Oaks*, and *Pomeroy* are infrequent, whereas in Portugal even the Prime Minister bears the name of the olive tree (*Oliveira* Salazar) and the Cardinal Archbishop that of the cherry (Gonçalves

[12] Insignificant variants have appeared in the train of contemporary spelling reforms, which some have resisted. Thus one finds *Souza* and *Sousa; Cardozo* and *Cardoso; Queiroz* and *Queirós; Vasconcellos* and *Vasconcelos; Rebello* and *Rebelo; Mello* and *Melo; Ennes* and *Enes; Athayde* and *Ataíde; Freyre* and *Freire; Motta* and *Mota; Moraes* and *Morais; Corrêa* and *Correia.*

Cerejeira). Another common name of this sort is *Pereira*, "pear tree," ever popular since *Nun' Álvares Pereira*, the great Marshal, bore it in the fourteenth century. Though it may be that a few people are named thus for some fine tree which once stood near their farm house a glance at a good map of Portugal reveals the existence of countless places with those very names. Once a noble proprietor identified himself with a village thus named, as in the case of the *Pereiras*, the name would spread among the commoners. The same could be said about *Oliveira*, *Figueiredo* ("grove of fig trees"), *Silva* ("Briar"), *Teixeira* ("Boxwoods"), *Moreira* and *Amoreira* ("Mulberry tree"). Tree names like *Carvalho* ("Oak") branched out further in half a dozen related forms. It is a puzzle why *Azinheiro* ("live oak") and *Sobreiro* ("corktree"), trees commonly found in the countryside, scarcely appear as family names.[13]

The names of rustic properties can be recognized in the names of people who may have lived in cities for generations: *do Rego* ("of the irrigation ditch"), *Ribeiro* ("brook"), *do Canto* and *da Rocha* ("of the rock"), *da Serra* ("of the mountain ridge"), *de Barros* ("of the farms"), *do Couto* ("of the enclosure"), *da Costa* ("of the hillside"), *de Matos* ("of the bushes"), *do Vale* ("of the valley") and *da Veiga* ("of the river bottom"). Some of these earthy names were first borne by the oldest nobility, as the genealogies of the medieval *Livros de Linhagens* tell us of the *Costas* and *Ribeiros*.

Some names derive from villages though they don't look like it. *Barbosa* and *Cunha* are in that category.[14] On the other hand, no one can mistake the origin of families bearing such names as *Lisboa*,

[13] Aside from the very common *Carvalho*, the telephone directory of Lisbon lists *Carvalhais*, *Carvalhal*, *Carvalheda*, *Carvalheira*, *Carvalheiro*, *Carvalhinho*, *Carvalhinhos* and *Carvalhosa*. Other family names derived from trees are *Pinho*, ("Pine"), *Pinheiro*, (same), *Palma*, *Palmeira*, ("Palmtree"), *Faia*, ("Beech"), *Loureiro*, ("Laurel"), *Figueira*, ("Fig tree"), *Nogueira*, ("Walnut tree"), *Salgueiro* ("Willow").

[14] Especially near Penafiel in the middle Douro valley many places bear the name *Barbosa*. The ancient manor of the *Barboza* family, whose main line is extinct, stands in the same region. (Américo Costa, *Diccionario chorographico de Portugal...*, Oporto, 1929–1947. Vol. III, p. 174.)

Cunha is an old village in the northern district of Viana do Castelo, where the *Pereira da Cunha* family has its manor. The name may derive from Santa Maria da *Colina* ("Hill"). Not quite so old is *Cunha*, a village in the district of Braga, where the *Cunha* family has its seat which traces its origin to a Dom Guterre from Gascony (*Gascunha* in Portuguese), who came to Portugal with Count Henry of Burgundy in the XIth century. (*Idem*, vol. V, pp. 1010 and 1012.) Take your choice.

Porto, Coimbra, Guimarães, Viana, Castelo Branco, Miranda, Gouveia, Alencar (modern Alenquer) etc. Being town names, they clearly imply origin or residence and not possession, identifying their early bearers as people of the middle classes. The custom of using river names to designate families seems particularly Portuguese. Among these are *Lima*, *Basto* and *Sousa* (earlier *Soisa*, from *Sosia*).

The few occupational names and the fairly widespread nicknames may also be easily understood. A few examples will prove it. *Monteiro* indicated the office of a forester or gamekeeper. *Azenha* and *Ferreira* come close to the ideas of "miller" and "smith" respectively, but designate the place — "watermill" and "blacksmith's shop" — rather than the profession. Moreover, *Ferreira* is the name of many small towns. *Caldeira* ("kettle") and *Machado* ("axe") name their men after common utensils and might well be nicknames. *Freire* ("friar") and *Guerreiro* ("warrior") surely derive from nicknames, not from professions. *Nobre* ("noble") and *Leal* ("loyal") can be proud of their surnames, but *Furtado* ("changeling, bastard") and *Feio* ("ugly") are such ancient names that their bearers don't mind them. *Leite* ("milk," "white as milk") has been preserved, while *Negro* and *Preto* ("black") have been resented and are rarely found now. Finally, a small number of animal names enjoy popularity. The most common of these are *Coelho* ("rabbit"), which occurs as early as 1174 as a personal name, *Cordeiro* ("lamb"), *Pinto* ("chick", but also meaning "spotted," as in Spanish), *Lobo* ("wolf") and *Raposo* ("fox"). *Leitão* ("piglet," "naked babe") was resented as vulgar by a young poet so that he discarded it (cf. note 10). Printed sources give too pale an idea of the actual wealth of Portuguese nicknames, because too few individuals have kept them as family names. Thus, in the Lisbon telephone directory one finds only one or two instances of such colorful names as *Azeitona* ("olive"), *Arrenega* ("sloth"), *Anjinho* ("little angel"), *Alface* ("lettuce"), *Alfinete* ("pin"), *Alecrim* ("rosemary"), *Abegão* ("tool keeper," "herdsman," but also "lazy fellow"), *Abóbora* ("pumpkin"), *Abraços* ("hugs").

3. *Where Portuguese Names Are Found*

Portuguese names have traveled around the world for two reasons. One was conversion under Portuguese auspices, with godparents who usually gave their Portuguese names to the converts.

Because spreading the faith was considered by the Portuguese colonizers as one of their duties, Portuguese names are still found in India even outside Goa along the west coast mainly and also on the island of Ceylon. *Alva* is the name of a family from Travancore, Frank *Moraes* the name of the editor of the *Times of India* in Bombay. *Dom Moraes* is a poet from India who now lives in England, *Peter Alvares* a socialist politician from Bombay who not long ago ran against Krishna Menon as a candidate for the Parliament in New Delhi. When the nationalists came into power in 1956 in Ceylon, some of their leaders, beginning with the new Prime Minister, Solomon Bandaranaike, hid their Portuguese middle names behind initials. *Fernando*, *de Souza*, *de Zoysa*, *Perera*, *de Silva* and *Mendis* will be found among the upper classes of Ceylon. Excepting few peculiarities in spelling, these names match the common names of Portugal to this day. Further proof of the arrested development of Portuguese family names may be readily had by examining the names carried almost everywhere by the descendants of other converts, unwilling ones, who fled from Portugal between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries to embrace Judaism publicly. Today we find them particularly in Great Britain, where *da Costa Andrade*, *Henriques*, *de Sola Pinto*, *Pereira* and *de Freitas* are honored names, and in France as *Mendes*, *Souza*, *Pereyre*, while their once flourishing communities in Amsterdam and Hamburg have practically been wiped out during the Nazi regime. We also discover them on this side of the Atlantic where they first appeared among the earliest European settlers of Brazil. Dutch Guiana and the Dutch Antilles have their *Bueno de Mesquita*, *da Costa Gomez*, *Madura*, *Chumaceiro* and *Riko*, Trinidad its *Albert Gomes*, Jamaica its *DeSouza* and *Melhado*. Families of similar names founded the earliest Jewish communities in the United States. From the one in New York has sprung Judge Benjamin *Cardozo*, from that in Philadelphia Victor *Seixas*, the tennis champion, to name two wellknown public figures.[15]

[15] The index of Henry Samuel Morais' book *The Jews of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1894, shows the following names of Portuguese origin, with those underlined being the most frequent: Azevedo, Cardozo, *Carvalho*, (da) Costa, Lobo, Lopez, Mendes de Morais, *Nones*, Nunes, Peixotto, Pereyra, *Pereira*, *Pesoa*, *Pinheiro*, *Seicas*, Silva, Touro, Vecinho.

There is nothing specifically Jewish about any of these names. While some are spelled in a quaint way (e.g. Nones), all are still commonly used in Portugal proper, perhaps with the one exception of *Touro*, representing the name of the Spanish town of Toro.

If anything, the Portuguese names have been kept more faithfully by Jewish families; they were among the very first Jews in Europe to adopt family names, and they have clung without a change to what had often been the names of the highest nobility in Portugal.

A second reason for the spread of Portuguese names has been the more or less voluntary emigration of vast numbers of impoverished Portuguese men and women from Portugal proper but also from the Portuguese speaking islands in the Atlantic, i.e. the Azores, Madeira, and the Cape Verde Islands. They brought with them their Portuguese names, mostly the same few common ones, to Brazil, the United States, Hawaii, and more recently Venezuela and Canada. However, for various good reasons, many of the Portuguese who settled in this country now bear English names, either because they were given to them or because they anglicized their Portuguese names, which "could not be pronounced." Different from the Portuguese Jews, they had no reason to be particularly attached to those family names, since they hardly ever used them during their lifetime, being known among each other by their Christian names or their nicknames. The process has been well described by Leo Pap in the fifth chapter of his book on *Portuguese-American Speech.* Given names meant so much more than family names that Brazilian and Portuguese standard bibliographies of the nineteenth century, such as Inocêncio da Silva's, listed authors by their first name.

So much for the extensive distribution of Portuguese names. A more difficult problem arises if one wants to verify their intensive, i.e. local, distribution. No doubt some names are found more commonly in some towns or regions than in others. Thus, it appears that the name *Soares* is especially common in the town of Braga, that *Guedes* is widespread in the Douro Valley and *Júdice* in the Algarve province.[16] Likewise, one finds relatively more people named *Sousa*, *Pinto*, *Teixeira*, *Moreira* and *Barbosa* in Oporto than in Lisbon. The island origin of so many Luso-Americans in the United States can be detected by the frequency of the name *Medeiros* in New Bedford and of *Bettencourt* in Oakland, California. Similarly, the continuing mass migration from the north of Portugal to Brazil has made *Lima*,

[16] My authority for *Soares* is Prof. Fidelino de Figueiredo in Lisbon. Leite de Vasconcelos alludes to the distribution of *Guedes* and *Júdice* in his *Antroponímia portuguesa,* p. 335.

Guimarães and *Viana* common names in Brazil. Certain originally foreign names have been associated with Brazil since colonial times; one expects to find *Cavalcanti*, *Lins* and *Vanderlei* in Northeastern Brazil, but not in Portugal, not to mention the American Indian names which Brazilian nationalism has sometimes added to Portuguese names since the times of *Diogo Álvares Correia, o Caramuru*.

A frequency study would be the first approach to this problem. Statistical by nature, it would require nothing more than directories to determine which names are the most common and where. Such a study remains to be undertaken. The counts on a small scale which Leo Pap undertook for two communities in the United States and I for Lisbon and Oporto (see Appendix 3) permit two conclusions: 1. Relatively few family names dominate, and 2. They are almost the same wherever one finds the Portuguese. For example, the frequency tables for Lisbon and Oporto indicate that *Silva* is by far the most common Portuguese family name, followed by *Santos*, *Ferreira*, *Costa*, *Oliveira*, *Pereira*, *Sousa* and *Almeida*. It is interesting to note that all of them represent place names, with the perhaps only apparent exception of *Santos*. As striking is the secondary role now played by patronymics. The small number of nicknames and the almost total absence of occupational names among the most common surnames cannot surprise after what has been found previously.

4. *How to Recognize Portuguese Names*

Considering the fairly small number of common Portuguese names it may seem easy to tell them from others. Thus, we may suspect that the famous bandmaster *John Philip Sousa* bears a Portuguese name. As a matter of fact, the *Dictionary of American Biography* tells us that he bears the name of his grandfather *António Sousa*, who left Portugal in 1822 for political reasons. It is also clear that the name of the novelist *John Dos Passos* belongs to the Portuguese devotional type, furthermore characterized as Portuguese by the combination of preposition and article to *dos*, just as different combinations show that *Dupont* and *Deschamps* are French and *Della Casa* Italian. By the same token, *do* Canto, *da* Costa and *das* Neves, cannot be other than Portuguese. If only there had not been a century-old tendency to drop the particles! A simple *Costa* might not

be of Portuguese or even Spanish origin at all. A look into the Philadelphia directory, for example, tells one, that it is an Italian name as well. The same is true of *Pinto*.

The task of distinguishing between Portuguese and Spanish names has been facilitated in modern times because the patronymic ending is now spelled *-es* in Portuguese, (as in Lopes) and no longer *-ez* as in Castilian. Other slight differences in pronunciation and therefore in spelling serve as a guide to distinguish for example Portuguese *Gusmão* from Spanish *Guzmán*, or *Mendonça* from *Mendoza*.[17] However, many Portuguese families originated in the Spanish regions bordering on Portugal, especially Galicia. As a result, many Portuguese bear partly Spanish names. The poet Luís Vaz de *Camões* did so in the past, and three politicians, Getúlio *Vargas*, General *Carmona* and Oliveira *Salazar* have had such names in recent years. Since there are identical words in the two languages, there are also some very common identical names, such as *Cruz*, *Franco*, *Garcia*, *Lemos*, *Machado* and *Torres*.

The most difficult problem of all is posed by names which have been adapted or translated to another language, such as English. Translated names exist in all countries; they will occur naturally. A good Portuguese example is furnished by the name of the Californian lawyer and writer Alfred *Lewis*. None could recognize this as a Portuguese name if Lewis had not told us in his book *Home Is an Island* (New York, 1952) that he was born on a farm in the district of Fajãzinha on the island of Flores in 1903 and was given the name *Alfredo Machado Luis*. His father had already lived in California. The son went there in 1922.

One has to be acquainted with the history of a particular family to be really sure of the interpretation of its name. Like *Lewis*, many descendants of Portuguese immigrants bear names unheard of in Portugal: *Sylvia*, *Francis*, *Lawrence*, *Anthony*, *Perry*, etc.[18]

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[17] Other easily distinguished Portuguese-Spanish doublets are: *Alves–Alvarez; Branco–Blanco; Castro–Castillo; Fernandes–Fernández; Ferreira–Herrera* or *Hernández; Furtado–Hurtado; Gonçalves–González; Neto–Nieto; Mendes–Menéndez* or *Meléndez; Morais–Morales; Pires–Pérez; Ribeiro–Ribera* or *Rivera; Rodrigues–Rodríguez, Ruiz; Ruivo–Rubio; Vaz–Velázquez; da Veiga–de la Vega.*

[18] For a long list of anglicized names, see Leo Pap, *Portuguese-American Speech*, New York, 1949, pp. 133–135.

Conclusions

In conclusion, certain conservative traits seem to characterize most clearly the system of Portuguese family names of today. They are:

1. their relatively small number with the result again of considerable confusion. In Lisbon, there are literally dozens and dozens of people all of whom are called *José Costa* or *Manuel Ferreira* or *António da Silva*. Even using two family names does not always help. The use of three is becoming quite common.[19]

2. the remarkable number of family names of devotional origin.

3. the very small number of occupational names, an indication that Portuguese society and its name system were fixed largely before the rise of cities.

and

4. the relative unimportance of family names derived from personal names, coupled with the large number of those derived from place names, another trait of a predominantly rural society with strong ties to the soil. Luís da Câmara Cascudo, the Brazilian folklorist, described the same fact as true of his native Northeastern Brazil, a notoriously conservative region, in his youth, about 1910: "Os fazendeiros," he writes, "perdiam o nome da familia. Todos eram conhecidos pelo nome próprio acrescido do topônimo. Coronel Zé Bras dos Inhamuns, Chico Pedro da Serra Branca, Manoel Bázio do Arvoredo. Nomes dos homens e da terra, como na Idade-Média. Tempo bonito." (*Vaqueiros e cantadores*, Porto Alegre, 1939, p. 6.)

[19] The common occurrence of certain names leads to news items such as the following, translated from *O Primeiro de Janeiro* (Oporto), August 30, 1957:

"The most numerous family of the Beira Alta province will celebrate another reunion soon.

VISEU – During the morning of September 12 another reunion of the numerous *Martins* family of Drave, perhaps the most numerous of the Beira Alta, will take place next to Our Lady of Guidance, at São Pedro do Sul.

Already some 150 years ago Francisco Martins, called Martins II, called together his relatives, who were quite a few even then. Since then the Martins have multiplied and scattered across the Seven Seas. Those who stayed closest and are most able to do so, meet annually, at the call of Father João Nepomuceno, parish priest of Carvalhais de São Pedro.

No fewer than some 2,000 Martins of Drave are alive at present."

"The Landowners used to lose their family names. All were known by their first names to which the name of their property was added. Colonel Zé Bras *dos Inhamuns*, Chico Pedro *da Serra Branca*, Manoel Bázio do *Arvoredo*. Names of men and their lands, as in the Middle Ages. Those were the times!"

Such property names of Portuguese families have been scattered over the seas by Portuguese mariners, so that we now have islands named *Mascarenhas*, *Tristão da Cunha*, *Fernão de Noronha*, and associate the Straits between the tip of South America and Fireland with *Magellan*, the name of the "quinta" of *Magalhães*, a property in the Minho province.

Many puzzles remain to be solved, many points to be clarified. The example of the Portuguese family names shows that names offer a rich harvest for cultural linguistics, the field where cultural history and linguistics meet.

Those who would like to venture further will find a few guides to methods and materials. The best guide, though it does not take into account the method of linguistic geography, remains José Leite de Vasconcelos' *Antroponímia portuguesa* (Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1928). It is out of print unfortunately. The same author's *Opúsculos* contain further studies of particular names. Additional smaller works on Portuguese place names and personal names will be found listed in Manuel de Paiva Boléo's "Bibliographie onomastique du Portugal" which appeared in the review *Onoma* of Louvain, vol. VI (1955/56), no. 3. It does not try to cover works dealing with the names of Galicia or Brazil.

The first part of chapter five in Leo Pap's book on *Portuguese-American Speech* (New York, King's Crown Press, 1949, pp. 124-138) is devoted to Portuguese-American personal names. It contains much useful material.

Charles F. Gosnell's *Spanish Personal Names* (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1938), a guide for cataloguers and bibliographers, has a short and rather useless appendix on Portuguese names. He does point out the difference in the arrangement of a person's family names between Spanish and Portuguese.

Appendix 1

Two lists of names of the late fourteenth century

drawn from F. Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, ed. A. Sérgio, Oporto, Civilização, n.d., and arranged according to types.

A) Names of Portuguese officials and members of Parliament (*Cortes*) at the beginning of the reign of King John I (vol. II, chap. 1).

1) Baptismal or first names and their derivations

Dr. Martim *Afonso*
Gonçalo *Estevẽs*
Estevã Vasquẽz *Felipe*
Alvaro *Fernamdez*
Vasco Fernamdez *Ferras*
Joaõ *Gill*
Lois *Gonçalvez*
Dom *Joaõ* (Bishop of Évora)
Ruy *Louremço*
Afonso *Martinz*
Louremço *Martinz*
Dioguo Lopez *Pachequo*
Johaõ Fernamdez *Pachequo*
Guomçallo *Pirez*
Pero *Sanchez*
Nuno *Vieguas* o Moço

2) Place names and their derivations

Fernã dAlverez d*Allmeida*
Fernã Guomçalvẽs d*Arca*
Afonso Domymguẽs d*Aveiro*
João Afonso (d*Azambuja*)
Gill Vasquez da *Cunha*
Martim Vasquez da *Cunha*
Alvaro *Pireira*
Dr. João das *Regras*
Johaõ Rõiz de *Saa*
Dr. Gill *Dosem*
Martim Afonso de *Sousa*
Vasco Martinz de *Sousa*
Vasco Martinz da *Cunha*
Dominguos Pirez das *Eiras*
Martiī da *Maia*
Vasco Martinz de *Mello*
Joham Roiz *Pereira*
Nuno Alvarez (*Pereira*)
Guomçalo Guomez da *Sylva*
Johaõ Guomez da *Sylva*
Fernaõ Rõiz de *Syqueira*
Pero Louremço de *Tavora*
Gonçalo Mendez de *Vascomçelos*
Mem Roiz (de *Vascomçellos*)

3) Nicknames derived from physical or mental peculiarities

Martim *Abade*
Louremçe Anes *Fogaça*
Afonso *Furtado*

4) Names derived from occupations and social positions
None

Note

All the noblemen have triple names – a given name, a patronymic, and a place name. Some patricians have likewise, but most of the latter have only two names – a given name and a patronymic. One bishop is designated by his personal name alone.

B) Names of citizens of Lisbon – noblemen and commoners – who helped the Master of Aviz, the future King John I, to defend Portugal against the Castilians (vol. I, chap. 161).

1) Baptismal or first names and their derivations

Dieg *Allvarez* (son of Alvaro Paaez)
Fernamd *Allvarez* (father of Dr. Rui Fernamdez)
Martim *Allvarnaz*
Dieg Affomsso *Alvernaz*
Joham Affomsso (*Alvernaz*)
Gonçallo Gomçallvez *Borges*
Affomsso *Esteevẽz*
Sillvestre *Esteevẽz*
Dr. Rui *Fernamdez* Affomsso *Louremço*
Martim *Louremço* (father of Dr. Gill Martiinz)
Gill *Martiinz*
Alvaro *Paaez*
Gõçallo *Perez*
Stevam Vaasquez *Phillipe*
Amtom *Vaasquez*

2) Place names and their derivatives

Airas Vaasquez d*Allvallade*
Dieg Allvarez de Samto *Antonio*
Affomsso Esteevẽz da *Azambuja*
Joham Affomsso (da *Azambuja*, son of the preceding)
Stev Eannes de *Barvuda*
Framçisco Domimguez de *Beja*
Joham Perez *Canellas*
Pedr Affomsso do *Casall*
Nuno Fernamdez de *Chaves*
Lopo Affomsso do *Quintall*
Lopo das *Regas*
Lopo *Taveyra*
Martim *Taveyra* (father of the preceding)
Affomsso Martĩiz de *Gorizo*
Stev Eannes da *Grãa*
Girall Martĩiz de *Lemos*
Gomez *Martĩiz* (son of the preceding)
Martim da *Maya*
Fernam Gonçallvez da *Moxoeira*
Affomss Eannes *Vogueira*
Affomsso Dominguez do *Paao*
Alvoro Gill de *Pedroso*
Rui *Portella*
Gomçall Eannes do *Valle*
Alvoro Vaasquez da *Veiga*
Diego Louremço da *Veiga*
Joham Perez da *Veiga*
Joham da *Veiga* o velho

3) Nicknames derived from physical or mental peculiarities

Rodrig Affomsso *Barateiro*	Affomsso *Furtado*
Gomçallo Domimguez *Barruffo*	Steve Annes *Lobato*
Gomçallo Vaasquez *Carregueiro*	Louremço Martïiz *Pratas*
	Vaasco *Queimado*
Rui *Cravo*	Martī Gomçallvez *Rombo*
Lopo Affomsso *Domzell*	Joham Dominguez *Torrado*
Gill Esteevẽz *Fariseu*	Martim Affomsso *Vallemte*

Appendix II

Names of common people living in Lisbon in the fifteenth century, in passages translated from the *Miracle Book of the Good Jesus of St. Dominic in Lisbon* begun ca. 1432 (in Mário Martins, ed., *Laudes & cantigas espirituais de Mestre André Dias*, Lisbon, 1951)

1. "a woman who has the name Constança *Dominguez*" (p. 285)
2. "a man whom they called Estaçe *Annes*" (p. 286)
3. "a woman called by name Beatriz *Eanes*, wife of Antom *Eannes*, roper, living at the Gate of S. Catherine" (p. 287)
4. "a man called by name Pedr *Affonsso*, servant of Afonsso *Perez*, formerly customs collector" (p. 287)
5. "A woman whom they called Maria Fernandez *Arungoesa*, who dwelt with Lourenço *Dominguez*, saddler, outside the Gate of S. Vincent" (p. 288)
6. "A woman called by name Catalina *Rodriguez*, wife of Alvaro d*Almeyda*, dwelling in Val Verde" (p. 288)
7. "A woman called by name Beatriz *Afonsso*" (p. 289)
8. "A man called by name Johã do *Couto*, a toll gatherer" (p. 289)
9. "A man called by name Gonçalo *Vaasquez* who lived with Rodrigo *Stevenz*, overseer of Prince Edward's kitchen" (p. 289)
10. "A man called by name Johã *Lourenço*, son in law of Gonçalo *Gonçallvez*, bookkeeper of the King" (p. 290)

11. "A man called by name Luys *Afonsso*, gate keeper" (p. 290)
12. "A woman called by name Enes *Perez*, who had been a housekeeper for Roy *Vogueira*, dwelling near S. Lawrence" (p. 290)
13. "A man called by name Vaasco *Lourenço*, carpenter" (p. 291)
14. "A man called by name Meendo *Afonsso*, tailor" (p. 291)
15. "A priest called by name Gonçalo *Lourenço*, chaplain of the chapel of King Alfons" (p. 292)
16. "a friend of his whom they called Lopo *Rodriguez*, who dwelt near S. Justa" (p. 292)
17. "A young man servant of Lopo *Estevenz*, sheath maker to King Edward" (p. 292)
18. "Moor *Eanes*, wife of Lopo *Rodriguez*, tailor" (p. 293)
19. "A butcher called by name Vaasco *Lourenço* ... This same Vaasco *Lourenço*, butcher" (p. 293)
20. "His wife Lyonor *Afonsso*" (p. 293)
21. "A man called by name *o Çaquoto*, dwelling in the parish of S. Justa" (p. 294)
22. "A young man who went on a ship belonging to Johã Martinz *Vogado*, dwelling in the city of Oporto" (p. 294)
23. "Alvaro *Gonçallvez*, shoemaker, dwelling on Morraz Street, parish of S. Giaão" (p. 294)
24. "A man called by name Johanne *Meendez*, shoemaker, dwelling at the Gate of S. Anthony" (p. 295)
25. "Vaasco *Viçente*, dwelling in Vyla Franca" (p. 296)
26. "A man called by name Afonsso *Viçente*, dwelling above the Gate of S. Vincent" (p. 296)
27. "A woman called by name Branca *Afonsso*, dwelling on Gold Street" (p. 297)
28. "A man called by name Joha Rodriguez *Çaquoto*, dwelling at the Gate of S. Vincent" (p. 297)
29. "A squire of Pero Gonçalvez *Mala Alfaya*" (p. 297)

Appendix III

Portuguese Family Names Most Commonly Found at the Present Time

Order of Frequency	City of Lisbon (Portugal)	City of Oporto (Portugal)	New Bedford Mass. U.S.A.	Greater Oakland Calif. U.S.A.
1.	Silva	Silva	Silva, Sylvia	Silva
2.	Santos	Santos	Sousa, Souza	Pereira, Perry
3.	Ferreira	Ferreira	Pereira, Perry	Lawrence
4.	Costa	Oliveira	Melo, Mello	Sousa
5.	Pereira	Costa	Medeiros	Freitas
6.	Oliveira	Sousa	Santos	Costa
7.	Almeida	Pereira	Rodrigues, Rogers	Oliveira
8.	Rodrigues	Almeida	Pacheco	Bettencourt
9.	Carvalho	Pinto	Gonçalves	Gomes
10.	Martins	Carvalho	Gomes	Cabral
11.	Sousa	Ribeiro	Correia	Correia
12.	Marques	Teixeira	Carreiro	Mello
13.	Fernandes	Moreira	Raposo	Enos (Enes ?)
14.	Gonçalves	Barbosa	Ponte	Vieira
15.	Ribeiro	Rodrigues		
16.	Pinto	Marques		

Note

The data for Lisbon and Oporto were gathered personally in 1957 from the telephone directories of the two cities. The data for New Bedford and Greater Oakland were found in Leo Pap, *Portuguese-American Speech* (p. 137). Pap used the 1941 city directory for New Bedford and the 1938 telephone directory for Greater Oakland. The absence of the name *Costa* from his New Bedford list must be due to an oversight. In the 1947/48 telephone directory for that city *Costa* ranks in frequency immediately after *Silva*, *Mello* and *Sousa*, 145 people being listed under it. The data for Greater Oakland are based on relatively small numbers of individuals, in contrast with the other data.

Pennsylvania State University

University Park, Penna.

More Information on Michigan Prairie Names

E. WALLACE McMULLEN

In a recent communication referring to the Indian components of the names listed in my article, "Prairie Generics in Michigan," which appeared in *Names* (Vol. VII, No. 3, September, 1959, pp. 188–190), Mr. Virgil J. Vogel of Chicago has kindly made several suggestions.

On pages 189–190 of the article, I cite Albert F. Butler whose "Rediscovering Michigan's Prairies" was published in *Michigan History* (see my footnote 3, p. 188). One of these prairies, *Coguaiack Prairie*, Butler says is "perhaps related to *Goguac Prairie*, 'pleasant water.'" In Mr. Vogel's opinion, "The absence of the Potawatomi, or other Algonquian term for water makes this dubious. Water is *neebe*, *nippi*, *neepi*, etc., according to dialect and the care of the recorder..." His authorities for the Algonquian *nippi* and its variants include Gailland's *Potawatomi Dictionary* (ms.) and Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes* (II, p. 473). It is unfortunate that the precise meaning of a great many names, especially Indian names, cannot be given.

Butler explains *Nottawa Prairie* as "Indian: 'reported to mean the river of the Ottawa, or a prairie along the river.'" According to Vogel, "There are *Nodoways*, *Nottoways*, etc., in a dozen states, and its radix is found in *Nadowessioux* and its variants, from which *Sioux* is derived. The term has been applied also to the Iroquois and the Hurons. It is Algonquian for "snakes," or "enemies." (Vogel's chief authorities for this statement are as follows: Hockett, *International Journal of American Linguistics*, XIV, No. 1, p. 7; Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians* — "epithets for Iroquois, Wyandots, and Sioux;" John R. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America* — "adders... in the language of their Algonquian neighbors, a common designation for alien tribes by peoples of that linguistic stock;" John

Tanner, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner* (1830), "rattlesnakes" — *Nautowaig, Naudoways* — Ottawa language, name for the Ioways; A. S. Gatschet, "Notes and Text on the Fox or Utagami Language," ms. notebook, catalog No. 63 in the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. — *Notua a nene-u* (Fox Indian name for the Hurons), "*notua* means a rattlesnake...*a-nene-u*...a man" [thus, literally, "snake men"].

Mr. Vogel may be right on this point; but, on the other hand, there are plenty of names which consist of shortened forms, such as *Sioux* itself. Another example is the Pennsylvania river name, *Lehigh*, which is said to be a reduced form of *Lechauwekink*, the Delaware name for the river, which signifies "'where there are forks,' because at the point where their main trail or thoroughfare from the lower parts of the Delaware Indian country crossed the river, numerous trails forked off in various directions to the north and the west." (A. Howry Espenshade, *Pennsylvania Place Names*, 1925, p. 132.) (Note that the reference here is to bifurcating trails and not to watercourses, the latter meaning being the more common in topographic literature.) Espenshade continues: "The Indian name *Lechauwekink* was shortened by the early German settlers into *Lecha*, a name still used by their descendants. The form finally adopted by the English-speaking inhabitants was *Lehigh*. The name in its present form is unfortunately a corruption or an abbreviation of the original Indian name and conveys no special meaning." Thus, *Lehigh* apparently is an Anglicized form of a German shortening of an Indian phrase.

It may be that *Nottawa* is not related to *Ottawa*. Still, until the original form can be found (if it can), the various possible explanations of the term should be considered. Thus, since so many Indian names show linguistic corruption, it seems not impossible to me that there is a sandhi relation between *Nottawa* and *Ottawa*, such as we find in the English forms *newt* and *eft*. (Also, compare *nickname, nonce, adder* and *apron*. See Leonard Bloomfield's *Language*, 1933, p. 419, and [for examples in the Fox language] Charles F. Hockett's *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, 1958, p. 277 ff.) Furthermore, there does seem to have been a prairie associated with the Indian name, if indeed the "river of the Ottawa, or a prairie along the river" explanation is accurate. However, Vogel's "snake/snakemen/enemies" theory has merit and may be correct.

Pokagon's Prairie, Butler says, is named for "a Potawatomi chief; the word means 'rib' — At the time of his capture he was said to have been wearing the rib of a slain Potawatomi." Vogel expresses doubt that this story is true: "No mention of such an incident is made in the sketch of Pokagon in Hodge (*op. cit.*)... The Potawatomi word for rib is *opukeginima* (Gailland, *op, cit.*, p. 299)." He admits that *Pokagon* might come from *opukeginima*, but feels that the corruption ought to have been indicated, and also seriously questions the way Butler uses his sources on this point.

Regarding the entry on *White Pigeon Prairie* (Butler: "Potawatomi Chief *Wah-be-me-me*, 'White Pigeon,' in *Hiawatha*"), Vogel asks, "Why resort to Longfellow for an authoritative definition? This is the correct meaning, but a better authentication is in Hodge (II, 945-'6)." Mr. Vogel has a point here, even though it is confirming rather than corrective. He further comments that Butler's discussion gives "the impression that White Pigeon, the Potawatomi Chief of historic fame, is described in *Hiawatha*, when in fact only the name *O-me-mee, the pigeon*, is mentioned, and this reference is to the bird, not to a person (Cupples and Leon edition, no date, p. 201)."

Finally, Vogel also highly questions Butler's use of local sources in the interpretation of *Cocoosh Prairie* ("pork, hog"). Butler says merely that *Cocoosh* means "pork or hog in the language of the Indians," as though, Vogel points out, "all redskins are the same." In other words, Butler neglects to specify which Indian language he is referring to.

Coldwater Prairie, Butler explains, comes from *Chuck-sew-ya-bish* ("coldwater"), but here again the precise language is not given, and two local histories are cited. Mr. Vogel objects to local histories because they, "as most historians will agree, are mostly hogwash. They should be cited only with the greatest caution; their explanations of place names in particular are apt to represent nothing but local folk lore." Certainly, such histories should be used with caution. But it seems to me that Butler does carefully cite his sources, instead of "authoritatively" incorporating the information into his text. Probably these sources were the only ones available to him, in which instance he could not afford to ignore them unless he *knew* them to be inaccurate. Even so, for the sake of comparison, an erroneous explanation should sometimes be brought to light. Until some other

researcher *proves* the information to be incorrect, the explanation can stand for what it is — a tentative explanation with qualifications, that is, better than nothing at all, but not completely acceptable until confirmed with good evidence.

Butler discusses a total of eight Indian names, if both *Prairie Ronde* (*Wa-we-os-co-tang-sco-tah*, "round fire plain") and *Shavehead's Prairie* (Potawatomi Chief Shavehead) are included. Apparently these two terms are satisfactorily handled.

I wish to commend Mr. Vogel for the generous contribution of his time to this project. Of all the American place names the Indian names seem to me the most difficult to deal with. Because I am primarily a student of topographic terminology, and am not a specialist in American Indian languages, I greatly appreciate his thorough investigation of the Indian names of Michigan prairies.

Lehigh University

Gualala

ROBERT L. OSWALT

In the past there has been a difference of opinion as to the origin of the name, Gualala, for a small coastal town in Mendocino County, California and for the river at whose mouth the town lies. One view is that the name is of Indian provenience, the other, that it is derived from "Walhalla," the abode of fallen Teutonic warriors.[1]

This note is added to the many already written on the subject because it contains further information on the name of the town in the language of the local Indians,[2] the Southwestern Pomo, who now occupy a small reservation near Stewart's Point, but who originally ranged along the coast from the mouth of the Gualala River southwards. They have a phrase in their language, /ʔahqʰa walaːli/, "place where water goes down" /ʔahqʰa "water," wa "go," la "down," ːli "place where"/ which is the common term for the mouth of any river, creek or freshet. In the language of the Southwestern Pomo, when a phrase is used in a particularized meaning, it is customary for it to be compounded and subjected to apheresis — i.e., a syllable is lost, usually one beginning with a glottal stop. Thus, the above phrase gives a derived form, /qʰawalaːli/, which was the name of an Indian village which formerly stood at the site of the town of Gualala. The name is well-attested in several of the oldest Pomo myths. In less formal speech, the Indian village was, and the modern town still is, referred to by the more abbreviated form, (walaːli).

The Southern Pomo, who formerly lived east of the village (and perhaps even occupied its site) had a name identical with the latter form, as far as can be told from the record.[3] The Central Pomo, who lived north of the site, had a closely similar appellation, qʰahwalaːli.

[1] For a discussion of the divergent opinions see: Erwin G. Gudde, *California Place Names* (University of California Press, 19).

[2] This was collected in the summer of 1958 incidental to linguistic fieldwork supported by the Survey of California Indian Languages, University of California, Berkeley.

[3] S. A. Barrett, *The Ethnogeography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians*, p. 224 (University of California Press, 1908).

The present English name is pronounced by most of the local white inhabitants as [wəlálə], which is as close an anglicized rendition of the Indian pronunciation as is normally possible, except for the final vowel. It is conceivable that the official spelling with an initial letter *G* might be derived from the first syllable of the formal Indian name, q^ha- (q^h is an aspirated, voiceless, post-velar stop which is somewhat similar phonetically to the English voiced velar [g]). However I believe that the initial *G* is simply a mistaken hispanicization of the spelling. Gudde states that the first record of a spelling with *Gu* instead of *W* was in 1867.[4]

It might be supposed that the final schwa in English is due to a weakening of the unstressed vowel such as occurs in some dialectal pronunciations of "Missouri." Or perhaps it is due to associative interference from the many California toponyms ending in -a. But I believe the most likely source of the interference is the popular association with the name, "Walhalla."

Evidence for an earlier vowel more like the Indian is the name on a Spanish diseño, Arroyo Valale.

The very close fit in the pronunciation of the official American name with the Indian name seems too great to have any explanation other than that the English term is a borrowing from the Pomo.

Those who propose Walhalla as the sole or major source of the word, Gualala, should explain the loss of the secondary stress on the first syllable and the loss of /h/.

There is no doubt that the alternate designation, Walhalla, has long existed among the local white inhabitants. This may originally have been a folk etymology of the Pomo word which has continued with a life of its own apart from the official name. However, it is very unlikely to have been the parent of that official name.

The gist of the preceding discussion is that "Gualala" [wəlálə], is a blend, with the first six phonemes from Pomo /walaːli/ and the final phoneme from some other source, possibly the term, Walhalla.

University of California,

Berkeley

[4] See Gudde.

Program

Annual Meeting

AMERICAN NAME SOCIETY

Sunday and Tuesday December 27th and 29th, 1959

The Palmer House, Chicago

Mamie Meredith, Chairman, Program Committee

Elsdon C. Smith, Chairman, Committee on Local Arrangements

Sunday, December 27

6:30 P.M. Annual Dinner

(Palmer House, Chicago)

Thomas M. Pearce, University of New Mexico, presiding

J. B. Rudnyćkyj, University of Manitoba, "Slaves, or Glorious Ones — Etymology of the Name Slav"

President's Address

Tuesday, December 29

9:15 to 10:15 A.M. Thomas M. Pyles, Univ. of Florida, presiding

Jack A. Dabbs, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, "Street Names in Baghdad"

E. C. Ehrensperger, University of South Dakota, "To Hyphenate or Not to Hyphenate"

G. Thomas Fairclough, University of Nebraska, "'New Light' on 'Old Zion': A Study of the Names of White and Negro Baptist Churches in New Orleans"

10:30 to 11:30 A.M. J. B. Rudnyćkyj, University of Manitoba, presiding

E. Wallace McMullen, Lehigh University, "Topographic Names on the Gulf Coast of Florida"

Wilbur G. Gaffney, University of Nebraska, "A Potential Influence of Given Names on Character and Occupation"

Margaret M. Bryant, Brooklyn College, "Name Prefixes in Telephone Numbers" (Paper not read)

11:30 A.M. to 12:15 P.M. Business Meeting

Reports of the Executive Secretary, the Treasurer, the Editor, the President

Announcement of the results of the election of officers for 1960 by the Chairman of the Nominating Committee

Other business

1:30 to 2:30 P.M. Elsdon C. Smith, Chicago, presiding

Atcheson L. Hench, University of Virginia, "Problems in Hunting the Source of Snollygoster (Snallygaster)" (Paper read by Prof. Robert Kellogg, Univ. of Virginia)

Ruth L. Pearce, Bryn Mawr College, Pa., "Welsh Place Names in Southeastern Pennsylvania"

Maurice Mook, Pennsylvania State University, "First Names Among the Amish"

2:45 to 4:00 P.M. Mamie Meredith, University of Nebraska, presiding

Sterling A. Stoudemire, University of North Carolina, "Columbus as a Giver of Names"

Henry R. Kahane, University of Illinois, "Mohammed's Old Guard in Western Anthroponymics"

T. M. Pearce, University of New Mexico, "Religious Place Names of New Mexico"

E. H. Bryan, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, "Surnames in Hawaii" (Paper read by Eugene V. Muench, Univ. of Nebraska Library)

Review

Studies in Onomastics. By J. B. Rudnyćkyj. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences; Series: Onomastica, No. 15. 1958. 58 pp. $1.00.

Studies in Onomastics is composed of ten scholarly papers -- four in German, three in Ukrainian, two in English, and one in Polish. It deals with toponymy, interlingual relationships in it, etymologies of place names, their history, etc. As the author mentions in his preface, most of these papers were presented at international congresses conventions of learned societies, or read before an academic audience.

Although Slavic subjects are often touched upon and sometimes discussed in detail, as in "Zur Frage der zwischensprachlichen Beziehungen auf dem Gebiete der Toponomastik," "Die appellative und onomastische Funktion des Akzentes im Slavischen," and others, the main body of the book is dedicated wholly to *Ukrainica*.

On the ground of historical documents, Rudnyćkyj convincingly proves that the name of the second-largest city in Ukrainia, Kharkiv (Xarkiv), is derived not from the personal name Xarko (<Xaryton), a legendary Ukrainian Kozak, as is commonly believed, but from the name of the Kharkiv (Xarkiv) river first mentioned in historical documents prior to 1598. Undeniably, this city was founded over fifty years later, presumably in 1654–1656. Thus, in the dispute with M. Andrusjak (see *Svoboda*, Jersey City, 1958, No. 227), Rudnyćkyj seems to us a very successful victor.

This qualification should be applied also to his article "Pro miscevu nazvu *Stryj*," in which the name of the town Stryj is etymologically and historically explained in every detail: the river's name was borrowed for the city's name; *Stryj*, meaning "flowing water," goes back to IE *sreu-; the epenthetic *t*, found in both Slavic and Germanic languages, is the result of later developments (p. 46).

Another of Rudnyćkyj's articles, "Toponymic Neologisms in Canada," is an English version, at least in part, of his extensive study in Ukrainian: *Kanadijśki miscevi nazvy ukrajinśkoho poxodžennja* (see our review in *Names*, VI, 4,254–255).

Among the other papers in the book, "Classification of Canadian Place Names," originally read before the Fourth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences in Uppsala, is of special interest to Canadian and American researchers. Three principles of classification — historical, linguistic, and onomastic — are discussed in the paper with a thorough knowledge of the subject.

In this reviewer's opinion, *Studies in Onomastics* is a valuable collection which contributes not only to *ukrainica*, but also to American and Canadian onomastic sciences. Researchers in toponymy should not omit this book.

Yar Slavutych

U.S. Army Language School

★ ★ ★

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE *A.N.S.*

at Philadelphia, December 1960

and invitation of papers

The annual meeting of the American Name Society will take place at Philadelphia, Penna. in December 1960 in conjunction with the Modern Language Association.

Program chairman is Professor Jack A. Dabbs, Second Vice-President, Dept. of Modern Languages, A and M College of Texas, College Station, Texas. Anyone wishing to read a paper on the program next December should write to Mr. Dabbs as soon as possible or, during the summer months of 1960, to his substitute, Professor Mamie J. Meredith, 2340 Sumner Street, Lincoln 2, Neb.

The program must be ready for the printer by September, so that it may be included in the Announcement of the Modern Language Association program.

Editor's Page

Upon assuming the duties of Editor of *Names* for this year, the undersigned wishes to pay tribute to Dr. Erwin G. Gudde, who started the journal, established a tradition, and served it faithfully for five years, and to Dr. Madison S. Beeler, who continued it for three years and is also responsible for the present issue upon my suggestion.

Change of editorship does not involve any basic changes in editorial policy for at least several years to come. The only possible changes have to be for improvement and these must be approved by the Editorial Board and, if necessary, by the Board of Managers of the American Name Society. The changes in the editorial machinery the present writer has suggested are two: (a) the appointment of a member of the Society, officer or other, as Associate Editor who would help in the editorial work and, in case of emergency, take over the duties of the elected Editor, and (b) the designation of a member as Book Review Editor. The Editorial Board, upon the Editor's suggestion, designated Mr. Elsdon C. Smith, one of its own members in the latter capacity. As soon as the Associate Editor is found, his appointment will be announced in the journal.

An editorial policy at present will be formulated as to the kinds of contributions that are acceptable; likewise an explicit statement of book review policy will be offered. Not only members of the Editorial Board and of the Board of Managers but also all members of the Society are invited to send to the Editor a note of comment on each issue and their constructive suggestions. The policy for publications of *Names* at this time may be summarized, it seems to me, as follows:

A. Although the *A.N.S.* is a society for the study of names in general, theoretical and specific, names of the Western Hemisphere claim a certain priority and this is particularly imposed by the limitations of space (ca. 256—270 pages in the annual volume) and the majority of the membership. However, worthy onomastic contributions in other fields are welcomed since a large number of the membership specialize in these other fields and promote the Society's scholarly cause.

B. Quality of the publications in the journal and certain sound basic principles that lead to scholarly excellence, though approaches and methods in investigating names may vary, are imperative elements that mark higher standards.

C. The broader circle of readers, who also are or may become members of the Society, has to find some attractive popular material in the journal, yet not to the disadvantage of standards. Beside solid scholarly papers, lighter material should be included, at least in some of the issues in each volume, designed for the information of the reader at large.

Quality is to remain our foremost concern, for this will raise the standars of the journal, attract serious scholars to contribute, and uphold the reputation of the periodical at the international competitive level of onomastic scholarship. A fine organ with hundreds of onomastic contributions deposited in the journal's volumes will be a permanent achievement; even the popular material, needed for the general educated reader, must be of superior quality. We have to work toward that goal.

Demetrius J. Georgacas

Slaves or Glorious Ones?

The Origin of the Name "Slav"[1]

J. B. RUDNYĆKYJ

1.

THE SUBJECT OF MY ADDRESS is not one I have chosen, but one that our Program Committee Chairman, Professor Mamie Meredith, has suggested to me with a view to present to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, the history of the etymological explanation of the name *Slav* and a survey of the English usage of this name in three different forms: *Slav*, *Slavonic*, and *Slavic*.

This, then, is my theme.

Certainly, anything one can say in this respect will not be new, particularly to those who have studied the problem, or to Slavicists in general. This paper, however, may be the first synoptic survey of the history of the problem in the English language,[2] and —since we are still in "swaddling clothes" as far as Slavistics in the Western Hemisphere is concerned[3] — I hope to be able to contribute a little to the general knowledge of Slavistics and Onomastics: *Nemo ultra posse obligatur*!

Let me begin with a few words concerning the first information about Slavs as it is found in the ancient Greek and Latin geographers and historiographers.

2.

Since the classical geographers knew very little about the northeastern regions of Europe, the first historical reports about the

[1] Presidential address delivered at the 8th Annual Meeting of the American Name Society in Chicago, Ill., December 27th, 1959. The author is indebted to the following scholars, who contributed to the final appearance of this paper: Prof. D. J. Georgacas, Editor of *Names*, Prof. R. G. McDawson (Univ. of Manitoba), Prof. P. Smal-Stocki (Marquette University), and L. Manko (Univ. of Manitoba).

[2] Cf. a similar survey in Polish: Słuszkiewicz, E., "Rzut oka na dzieje etymologii nazwy 'Słowianie'" [The History of the etymology of the name "Slav"], *Przegląd Klasyczny*, No. 9–10 (Lwów, 1936), pp. 731–798; in Ukrainian: Rudnyćkyj, J. B.,

Slavs were insufficient and relatively very late. It was not until the first century A.D. that any more detailed information about north, eastern Europe was revealed. So, e.g., the anonymous cosmographer of Ravenna located the Scythians, from among whom the Slavs came, east of the Normans, Danes, and Finns.

Greek and Roman writers began to take more interest in the northern "barbarians", Germans, Slavs, and other peoples, when invasions of the ancient Roman empire by the Germanic tribes began. It is to them that we owe the first historical records regarding Slavs (Pliny [1st century A.D.], Tacitus [1st century A.D.], Ptolemy [2nd century A.D.]). The Slavs appear in their writings under the name *Veneti-Venedi.*

This name is also known to the later historiographers. For example, the medieval Latin historian Jordan, bishop of Crotone (550–552), in his history of the Goths, calls the Slavs *Veneti* and *Vinidi.* He also notes that this name differs from tribe to tribe and from place to place, but nevertheless they are also known as *Slavs* and *Antae.*

In the Middle Ages the Germans called the Slavs in the neighborhood of the Elbe *Wenden*, and Poland was called by the Anglo-Saxon writer Orosius *Weonodland.* The name *Wenden* is still preserved in the German language with reference to the Lusatians (in Eastern Germany) and *Winden* — to the Slovenes (in Yugoslavia). According to R. Trautmann both forms are derived from the Proto-Germanic **Winidos* or **Winithos.*[4])

Although the *Veneti-Wenden* were undoubtedly Slavs, the name itself was not considered of Slavic origin. Some scholars derived it from the IE root ***ųen-* 'to love,' cf. Old Indic *vánati* 'loves', Lat. *Venus*, thus *Veneti* were in general 'friends, allies'.[5] The Russian

"Perši vistky pro slovjan. Nazva slovjan" [First informations about the Slavs. The name "Slav"], *Vstup do slovjanoznavstva* [Introduction to Slavistics], Ukrainian Free University (Munich, 1948), pp. 52–64, a.o.

[3] Cf. Rose, W. J., "Cradle days of Slavic Studies – Some Reflections", *Slavistica* No. 23, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (Winnipeg, 1955), p. 9.

[4] Trautmann, R., *Die slavischen Völker und Sprachen. Eine Einführung in die Slavistik* (Göttingen, 1947), p. 22.

[5] Cf. Much, R. in Hoops, *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde,* IV, 508–509; Schrader and Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* II, 590; Kosinna, G., *Manus,* IV, 183–287.

linguist A. Šachmatov identified Slavic *Veneti* with the Celtic tribe in Western Brittany and derived it from Celtic.[6] In a special article *O nazwie Wenedów* [On the name Wenedi],[7] J. Rozwadowski presented a linguistic analysis of all names connected with the root ***u̯en-*. A similar survey was given by M. Rudnicki.[8] T. Lehr-Spławiński held the name to be Slavic and derived it from the root **vęt-* 'bigger, greater'.[9]

The problem of the origin and meaning of *Veneti-Venedi* still awaits its final solution. The same can be said of the name *Slavs*.

3.

The name *Slavs* first appears at the beginning of the sixth century A.D. in writings of the so-called Pseudo-Kaisarios of Nazianzus and later, more frequently, in the sixth century in Procopius and Jordan. In Ptolemy, also, the name Σουοβηνοί is found which, according to L. Niederle, is an exact transliteration of the Slavic word *Slověne*—the first and the oldest form of this name (Sg.: *Slověninъ*).[10] Niederle puts forward an important question as to whether this name was applied to one Slavic tribe only, or to all Slavs.[11] He states that F. Miklosich was convinced that originally the Southern Slavs (excluding Serbs) were called Σκλαβηνοί - *Sclaveni*. A. Brückner and J. Perwolf also accepted this view. Opposing were J. P. Šafařik and G. Krek; they were convinced that originally this name was applied to all the Slavs and was later preserved only among some Slavic tribes: *Slovaks*, *Slovenes*, *Novgorod Slovines*, and others.[12] In Niederle's opinion the name *Slavs* was used to designate all the Slavic tribes in the period of their migrations, but it is doubtful whether this was the case before. On the contrary, Niederle is convinced that this name originally had a much narrower application.[13]

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[6] *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XXXIII, 51ff. Šachmatov's hypothesis was refuted by K. Buga, *Revue Slavistique*, VI, 1ff. and M. Vasmer, *ibidem*, 172ff.

[7] *Bulletin International de l'Académie Polonaise des sciences et des lettres.* Classe de philologie, de l'histoire et de philosophie, Année 1925 (Cracow, 1927), pp. 134 to 136.

[8] *Slavia Occidentalis*, IX, 383–384.

[9] Cf. *O pochodzeniu i praojczyźnie Słowian* [On the origin and homeland of Slavs] (Poznań, 1946), pp. 15, 20, 89, 100, 147, 159, 166, 177.

[10] Cf. *Slovanské starožitnosti* [Slavic antiquities] (Prague, 1910), II, 2, p. 469ff.

[11] *Ibidem*, p. 470. [12] *Ibidem*, p. 471. [13] *Ibidem*, p. 471ff.

As far as the etymological explanation of this name is concerned, up until the time of J. P. Šafařik[14] the name was referred to the root **slav-* which is found in such words as *slava* 'glory', *slaviti* 'to glorify,' *slavьnъ* 'glorious,' etc. Thus *slověne* were 'glorious ones,' 'glorious tribe,' 'gloriosi, αἰνετοί', which, especially during the period of Romanticism, very well corresponded with the national pride of the Slavs and with their aspirations to Pan-Slavic unity.

Following this explanation, which flourished until the 19th century and could be found even today in the popular etymology, another one appears deriving the name from the root **slov-* found in *slovo* 'word.' According to this issue the Slavs were 'a tribe which spoke a comprehensive, understandable language' in contrast to other tribes, particularly the Germans, whose language was originally not understood by Slavs. This explanation was very popular in German Slavistic literature.[14]

Formally with the root **slov-* but not in the meaning 'word' was the name *Slověninъ* connected by J. Dobrovský, "father of Czech Slavistics." In his study *Untersuchungen, woher die Slawen ihren Namen erhalten*[15] and in other papers Dobrovský defended the so-called "topographic" explanation of the name. Analyzing the suffix *-ěninъ/-janinъ* which forms names of peoples from topographic terms and names, he derived the Slavic name from a supposed toponymic **Slovy*.

Dobrovský's etymology found many followers. It was J. P. Šafařik who compared Dobrovský's **Slovy* with Lithuanian *salava*, Latvian *sala* and Polish *żuława*.[16] J. Perwolf in the article *Slawische Völkernamen*[17] referred to the ancient Slavic capital *Slauna* (*Slawena, Zlawe, Zlowe*), German *Schlawe*, Kaschubian *Słowno* from the original **Slovy*. The meaning of this name, however, was not explained by Perwolf. This was attempted later by J. Hošek. According to his etymology the root **slov-ъ* meant 'hill, mountain'.[18] As

[14] Schrader & Nehring, *op. cit.* 417; Diels, P., *Die Slawen* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1920), pp. 5–6; Solmsen, F., *Indogermanische Eigennamen als Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1922), p. 98.

[15] *Abhandlungen einer Privatgesellschaftin Böhmen* (Prague 1874), VI, 268–298.

[16] Cf. his *Slovanské starožitnosti* [Slavic antiquities] (Prague, 1936–1937), I, 1, 46ff.

[17] *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, VIII, 24.

[18] Cf. his article "*O vyznamě jmen Čechove, Moravané, Slované*" [On the meaning of the names Czechs, Moravians, and Slavs], *Časopis Matice Moravske* 1891.

an opposite opinion Prof. R. Smal-Stocki; quotes a Polish anonymous publication deriving the name *Slav* from *Slovo, Sal, Szal* meaning 'lowlands'.[19]

In a scholarly symposium dedicated to the Serbian linguist A. Belić[20] the "topographic" explanation found a persuasive argumentation by two scholars, M. Budimir[21] and J. Rozwadowski.[22] Having collected several names with the roots **slov-/*slav-* (*Słowno, Słowin, Słowino, Sławno*, etc.) they derived it from ***kleu-/klou-* with the primary meaning 'to flow', cf. Latin *cluere, cloaca, Cluentus*, Old Icelandic *hlér* 'sea,' 'lake', Lithuanian *šlúoju, šlaviaũ*, etc. According to Budimir *slověne/slovjane* meant 'people living on the shores of lakes, rivers, etc.'.

The authority of Budimir and Rozwadowski, with their convincing argumentation and documentation, influenced Slavic scholarship for the last several decades. Thus, T. Lehr-Spławiński, discussing such names as *Sława, Sławka, Sławica, Sławiec, Sławut(a), Sławutycia, Sławoczna, Słowna, Słownia, Słoważ, Niesłowka*, and many others, considers the "topographic" explanation of the Slavic name one of the most convincing.[23]

Finally, M. Vasmer, the German Slavist, in his Russian etymological dictionary wholeheartedly supports the "topographic" etymology of the name of the Slavs.[24]

The history of the explanation of this name shows several other theories put forward by scholars of high caliber.

One of such explanations belongs to the famous Polish linguist J. Baudouin de Courtenay. In an article on this topic[25] he presented an interesting idea of the generalization of parts of such names as *Jaroslav, Miroslav, Stanislav*, etc. on the whole tribe. In his opinion, the name *slověne/slovjane* originally appeared among the Slavs in places where they came into contact with foreign tribes, and where the slave markets were held, e.g., on the shores of the Adriatic

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[19]) In a letter of Feb. 2nd, 1960 to the author; the title of the book is as follows: *Rodowody Słowian. Polska i Ruś* [Genealogy of the Slavs. Poland and Ruś] (Paris, 1861), pp. 11–13.

[20] *Zbornik filoloških i lingvistikih studija* (Belgrade, 1921).

[21] *Op.cit.*, pp. 97–112. [22] *Op.cit.*, pp. 129–131. [23] *Op.cit.*, 79–80 and 190.

[24] *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1949–1955), II, 656–657.

[25] *Język Polski* [Polish language] (Cracow, 1916), III, 62–64.

sea. Whoever bought slaves of Slavic origin and asked for thei names always heard the afore-mentioned names. The second, ofte and clearly repeated part of the names, remained in the memory o the foreign trader. Thus, the meaning *slave* was transferred to th name *Slav*. Here Baudouin de Courtenay compares the term Lati *sclavus*, German *Sklave*, French *esclave*, etc.[26] with such transfer of the meaning as *Schweizer* 'doorman,' Węgier 'travelling merchant, etc. This theory is still living in encyclopaedias and general work of reference about *Slavs* as well as in the poetry.[27] So, e.g., one read in the *Slavonic Encyclopaedia* (New York 1947, p. 1169) the follow ing: "The term *Slav* (from *slava* 'glory,' *slavit'* 'to glorify') applie to these people, originated probably from the frequent usage i personal names *-slav*, as in *Jugoslav* 'glorifying the spring,' *Mstisla* 'extolling revenge,' *Boguslav* 'praising God,' etc., which at tha time was common to the whole people."

In a scholarly symposium dedicated to J. Baudouin de Cour tenay[28] L. Masing gave three etymological articles, amongst then one devoted to the explanation of the name of the Slavs. Accordin to Masing *Slověninъ/Slovjaninъ* means 'a man who speaks not unde standably.' This name is analogous to the Slavic designation of th Germans — *Němьcь* 'mute person' and is derived from Gothic *slava* 'to be silent, to be mute.'

Masing's explanation opposes the "topographic" theories abou the name *Slav*. Another opponent was A. Brückner, the Berli Slavicist (1856–1939), who in several articles and books defend the etymology from ***sleu-/slei-* 'slow' referring to less attractiv features of the character of the Slavs: their slowness, sluggishnes laziness, and to such words as Polish *słowień*, *słownia* 'flax (slowl ripening)' and English *slow*, Dutch *sleeuw*, Swedish *slö*, etc.[29] As

[26] Here also Greek σκλάβος, cf. D. J. Georgacas, "Beiträge zur Deutung a slavisch erklärter Ortsnamen," *Byzant. Zeitschr.* 41 (1942), 374–376.

[27] Cf. the poem *Slavus – sclavus* by Lesja Ukrajinka, *Works*, I, (New York, 1953 pp. 97–98.

[28] *Prace linguistiyczne ofiarowane Janowi Baudouinowi de Courtenay* [Linguist papers offered to J. Baudouin de Courtenay], (Cracow, 1921), pp. 84–99.

[29] In his Polish etymological dictionary: *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskie* (Cracow, 1927), p. 501; in *Slavia*, III, 199–203; *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschun* II, 147–154; *Dzieje kultury polskiej* [History of the Polish culture], I, 8, etc.

result of various historical factors the name Slav spread to all the Slavic tribes, and — though it first was disregarded — in time it was accepted by the Slavs themselves and was put into general use.

Brückner's etymology does not exhaust the list of the attempts in this respect. For the sake of bibliographical completeness the following explanations should be mentioned:

G. Iljinskij's hypothesis: from **slověti* 'to speak comprehensively'.[30]

M. Rudnicki's etymology from ***sleu-*/***slou-*/***slu-* corresponding with ***sreu-*/***srou-*/***sru-* 'to flow'.[31]

A. Stender-Pedersen's explanation is similar to that of L. Masing.[32]

J. Zubatý's complicated view about the original *Slověnъ* — form that later was extended with the suffix *-ěninъ*.[30]

J. Mikkola's connection with Greek λαός (<*σλαϝός) meaning 'members of the same tribe'.[30]

J. Suttnar's hypothesis connecting this name with Slavic *slouga* 'servant'.[30]

Other explanations based on such words as *člověkъ* 'man,' *skala* 'rock,' **golva* 'head,' **solvii* 'nightingale,' *Slavuty -Dnipro* 'river name,' etc., were rather folk-etymologies than scholarly interpretations of the name.

4.

If someone were to ask me for "langer Rede kurzer Sinn," i.e., for my own opinion, I would be in an awkward situation.

As a young adept in Onomastics, originally I was highly impressed and attracted by the "topographic" explanation of the Slavic name. (The etymology of Budimir-Rozwadowski was an official *credo* at the University of Lviv, Western Ukraine). Professor W. Taszycki, my unforgettable teacher and master in Onomastics, greatly influenced my opinion at that time. I expressed my views on the

[30] Cf. the author's *Vstup do slovjanoznavstva* [Introduction to Slavistics], Ukrainian Free University (Munich, 1948), p. 62ff.

[31] Cf. *Slavia Occidentalis*, VII, 486.

[32] Cf. his *Slavisch-germanische Lehnwortkunde* (Göteborg, 1927), p. 4.

problem in an article, published by the late Ukrainian linguist, Professor V. Simovyč, an onomatologist of high rank.[33]

After the second World War, I myself started work on the etymology of the name and gathered some examples illustrating the non-"topographic" function of the suffix *-ěninъ/-janinъ*, e.g.

Ukr. *virjanyn* 'parishioner' : *vira* 'faith'
,, *pročanyn* 'pilgrim' : *prošča* 'pilgrimage'
,, *krylošanyn* 'high church official' : *krylos* 'part of the church'
,, *movljanyn* 'speaker' : *mova* 'speech.'

The latter formation is very closely related to:
Ukr. *slovjanyn* : *slovo* 'word'.[30]

Thus, my present opinion, the derivation of this name from *slovo* and the explanation of the Slavic name as 'those who speak the same understandable language,' is at least as convincing as its "topographic" explanation.

* * *

My conclusions about the problem are as follows:

a) up to the present time there is no unanimous consent in Slavic Onomastics regarding the etymology of the name *Slav*;
b) the most attractive and convincing seems to be the "topographic" explanation of the name;
c) the derivation, however, from *slovo* 'word' is not excluded since the suffix *-ěninъ/-janinъ* is used to form words not only from the "topographic" roots, but also from occasional words, even with an abstract meaning (*vira*).

5.

A special problem arises when the name *Slav* and its various derivatives in English are considered.

According to the Oxford Dictionary,[34] the oldest form is *Sla* or (with Latin inserted *c*) *Sclav*(*e*) recorded as early as in 1387 in the nominal and as late as in 1887 in its adjectival function.

[33] "Pro nazvu slovjany" [About the name *Slavs*], *Žyttja i znannja* (Lviv, 1936) pp. 167–168.

[34] *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* by Sir James A. H. Murray et alii, (Oxford 1919), vol. 9, pp. 182ff.

In 1555 the form *Slavon* (*Sclavon*) appears; its meaning is 'a Slav' (noun).

Chronologically and structurally very close to this is the adjectival formation *Slavonish* evidenced in records of 1560.

Another adjective is *Slavonian* from records of 1577.

Compared with the above terms, the adjective *Slavonic* appears relatively late; the first records go back to 1614 ("Slavonique tongue"). It is worthy of mention that one of the founders of the Oxford Slavistics, Professor W. R. Morfill, used this term consistently.

Relatively late is also the form *Slavic*. Its first use goes back to 1813. The same date refers to the adjective *Slavian*.

From all the above terms: *Slav*, *Slavon*, *Slavonish*, *Slavonian*, *Slavonic*, *Slavic* three are competing in present-day English: *Slav*, *Slavonic*, and *Slavic*. The first one is used in the whole English speaking world. The British Isles, Australia, and New Zealand employ *Slavonic*. The United States of America uses *Slavic*, but sometimes *Slavonic* also.[35] As far as Canada is concerned both terms are employed: *Slavonic* Studies at the University of British Columbia, and *Slavic* Studies at the University of Manitoba. Alberta and Toronto had *Slavic* for the last decade or so, but are now switching to *Slavonic Studies*.

So far, very little has been written on this topic in the scholarly literature. To my knowledge only Professor Roman Smal-Stock; of Marquette University, discussing *Terminological problems of Eastern European History*,[36] came to the following conclusions in this matter:

"These terms are in the present literature still competing terms. In American Universities are 'Slavic' departments, but in public libraries and in the Library of Congress are 'Slavonic' departments. In some publications all three terms are used simultaneously."

"I propose to eliminate the term *Slavonic* because it is derived from *Slavonia*, respectively from med. Latin: *sclavonius* (since 1555); and is therefore misleading. It is rather a monument of Anglo-Saxon ignorance in Slavic matters."

[35] Cf. *Old Church Slavonic Grammar* by Lunt, *Slavonic Encyclopaedia* by Rouček.

[36] *Svoboda* No. 109, Jersey City 1957.

"Also the term *Slav* has already lost the race and the term *Slavic* proved its usefulness and accuracy."

With these words, Ladies and Gentlemen, coming from one of the best authorities in this field in America, I am closing in the firm conviction that, in line with the development of Slavistics and Onomastics in our Hemisphere also, the terminological problems will be positively solved and one of the mentioned names, preferably *Slavic*, will win the race.

Discussion. — An interesting and lively discussion developed after the reading of the presidential address. Two sides were taken: one for the author's point of view by Professors Alfred Senn, Roman Smal-Stocki; Demetrius Georgacas, and others, the opposite by Professor B. O. Unbegaun and one or two more. It is unquestionable that the American English usage tends to be *Slavic*, *Slavistic*, etc., while *Slavonic* is British English; there are no terms **Slavonist*, **Slavonistics* parallel to the existing *Slavicist*, *Slavistics*. [D. J. Georgacas, Editor].

"New Light" on "Old Zion"

A Study of the Names of White and Negro Baptist Churches in New Orleans

G. THOMAS FAIRCLOUGH

Among the least explored regions which lie open to students of American names is that of organized religion. Research in the names of American churches has been limited to one anonymous pamphlet published in the nineteenth century and a few remarks in Mencken's monumental study of American English.[1] This paper makes no claim to cover any great extent of this onomastic *terra incognita*. It is an examination of the names of congregations belonging to a single Protestant group and located in a small geographical area. Yet within this restricted compass may be found some interesting indications of the part which ethnic factors play in the naming of churches, as well as a picture, in miniature and with local variations, of trends in church naming which operate throughout American Protestantism.

New Orleans was selected as the locale for this study because it is the largest American city to list white and Negro churches under separate headings in its telephone directory. The principal reference work used was the New Orleans Telephone Directory for 1959, published in January of that year by the Southern Bell Telephone Company. Occasionally during the investigation it was helpful and interesting to check the naming pattern of New Orleans Baptist churches prior to World War II. For this purpose a 1941 publication

[1] The pamphlet, published in Cambridge in 1891, dealt only with Protestant Episcopal churches and bore this imposing title: "On the Dedications of American Churches: An Enquiry into the Naming of Churches in the United States, Some Account of English Dedications, and Suggestions for Future Dedications in the American Church." Mencken summarized its findings and remarked on naming tendencies of other groups in *The American Language, Supplement Two* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1936), pp. 589–591.

of the Work Projects Administration's Historical Records Survey, entitled *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in New Orleans*, was used.

The Baptist denominations belong to the great group of "free churches," Protestant sects without a tradition of state support or strong centralized authority. Baptists in the South are especially proud of the degree of autonomy which their local congregations enjoy. Among the many activities in which the individual church is subject to little or no regulation or supervision is the choice of a congregational name. The presence of this liberty of choice, assuring a variety of names for study, was the reason why I chose to investigate Baptist names.

In New Orleans this right of free choice has certainly been exercised. The common reader of telephone directories might well be content, after reading more than five columns of Baptist church names, merely to borrow Dryden's phrase and say, "Here is God's plenty." However, a closer consideration reveals an abundance of naming pattern: the pattern followed by each of the two races, and the Baptist pattern of the city as a whole and its relation to a nation-wide Protestant system of name categories.

All names borne by Christian churches in the United States can be placed in one of three classes: religious, secular, and a combination of the first two.[2] Among Protestants, the greatest number of religious church names are taken from the Bible. Most of these are personal or place names, with the word *Saint* prefixed to many New Testament personal names. A special subclass of personal names comprises those dedicated to an aspect of the Deity — *Christ, Our Saviour's, Messiah, Trinity, Divine Paternity* (this last is a

[2] The conclusions about a national pattern of Protestant church naming which are stated in this and several succeeding paragraphs were formulated after a study of about two dozen W. P. A. publications and current telephone directories, as well as some fairly extensive personal reconnaissance. The W. P. A. directories included *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations of Rhode Island* (1939); *Directory of Churches in New Jersey*, vol. 16, "Passaic County" (1941); *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations: Greater Detroit* (1941); *Directory of Churches, Missions, and Religious Institutions of Tennessee*, no. 33, "Hamilton County," and no. 79, "Shelby County" (1941). Some of the current classified telephone directories checked were those for New York (Manhattan), Chicago, Los Angeles, Baltimore, St. Louis, Nashville, Scranton, Duluth, Lincoln (Nebr.), and Waterloo (Iowa). I attempted to examine cities of various sizes, in as many sections of the country as possible.

historic Universalist congregation in Manhattan). Also used are the names of Biblical events (*Transfiguration*), Biblical edifices (*Temple*), and spiritual characteristics emphasized by Biblical writers (*Grace*). Occasionally, and almost always as the designation of a group proud of its fundamentalist approach to doctrine, the word *Bible* itself is used as a congregational name.

The names of saints who are of later than Scriptural date are used frequently by Episcopal churches but are otherwise quite uncommon. Protestants other than Episcopalians sometimes name their churches for what might be called their own saints, persons prominent in the history of the denomination. Detroit and West Lincoln, Nebraska, are two of many American communities containing Methodist churches named *Asbury*, after Francis Asbury, the first American Methodist bishop. Occasionally churches will be named for places connected with the lives of denominational saints. Examples are *City Road Methodist Chapel* (Madison, Tennessee), commemorating a London thoroughfare where John Wesley lived in his later years and whose Methodist graveyard is the place of his burial, and *Epworth Methodist Church* (Lincoln, Nebraska, and several other cities), named for the English village where John and Charles Wesley were born. Such non-Biblical but clearly religious place names do not seem to be used by other than Methodist congregations.

Purely secular names, understandably, manifest a greater variety. One large category, used by most American denominations but virtually unknown among Protestants in other countries, is that of numerical designations (*First*, *Second*, etc.). Place names bulk even larger and are of several kinds. Sometimes the name of the town will serve as the church's name; this usage is confined to small towns and villages where each denomination is represented by only one church,[3] and in larger cities to the one congregation of a particular faith to be found there. A church located in the central business area of a city may be called *Downtown*, *Central*, or *Mid-City* (e.g., the *Central Methodist Church* in the heart of Detroit). Outlying neighborhoods which, although part of a larger city, are cohesive enough

[3] In recent years, some congregations in this situation have experimented with numerical designations. The chief deterrent to this practice is that members of other sects usually regard the *First Methodist Church*, in a community of 500 people, as a manifestation of the sin of pride.

to have a local identity and a name, usually give that name to at least one of the Protestant churches in the area. The Havelock section of northeast Lincoln, Nebraska, has a *Havelock Methodist Church*, a *Havelock Church of the Christian and Missionary Alliance*, and a *Havelock Assembly of God*.[4] Most particularized of all the locality names are the street names which many Protestant churches bear. Usually they are the names of the streets on which the churches front; rarely, they are taken from nearby streets of more importance. The *Fifth Avenue-State Street Methodist Church* of Troy, New York, uses the names of both the streets which form its intersection, but in speech it is universally referred to as the "State Street Methodist Church."

Some secular place names are more general than those in the last two subclasses, yet somewhat more imaginative than the *Central* or *Downtown* group. These names have as their referent a nearby landmark of some kind, natural or man-made, and they usually allude to it with a kind of elegant vagueness. An example is the *Lake Shore Presbyterian Church* of St. Clair Shores, Michigan, which is located within a few blocks of Lake St. Clair.

A final subclass of secular place names for churches, though comparatively small, deserves mention for its miscellaneous nature. This is the group of place names without any local reference. A number of American congregations seem to have been guided in their choice of name by no more precise criteria than euphony and pictorial connotation. The *Belle Vista Methodist Church* of Clifton, New Jersey, and the *Pleasant Green Baptist Church* of St. Louis are examples.

Secular personal names are not so frequently used as secular place names, but in some localities they form a fairly sizable group. They are almost always the names of deceased persons who have been

[4] Before 1930 this section of Lincoln was an independent village. The *Havelock Methodist Church* was founded prior to Lincoln's annexation of Havelock, and might consequently be considered (historically, at least) as the bearer of a town rather than a neighborhood name, and as originally belonging to the first rather than the second subclass of secular place names. The other two congregations established since Havelock lost its municipal identity, ought clearly to be considered as bearers of a neighborhood name; and in the interest of simplicity I have so classified *Havelock Methodist Church* as well. When Havelock ceased to be a city and became a neighborhood, the church's name, in my opinion, became a neighborhood name also.

prominent in the affairs of the local congregation. Churches named for local people usually add the word *Memorial* to their names. Scranton, Pennsylvania, furnishes a good example of such commemoration in the *Dr. Jones Memorial Congregational Church.*

Nationality designations, such as *Filipino Methodist Church* (Oakland, California), require little explanation. Most Protestant churches so named are missions which direct a special evangelistic effort at the group specified.

A last category, which tends to blend into one of religious church-naming, consists of what I call "secular grace names." These are names of mental or spiritual characteristics and other abstractions whose source, or at any rate whose principal source, is not the Bible. Such a name as *Liberty Baptist Church* is more apt to be assumed from a vague patriotic sentiment than from a desire to allude to "the perfect law of liberty" (James 1: 25).[5] *Union* is a similar secular grace name (*Unity* is its rather rare religious equivalent);[6] it is particularly useful to designate a congregation formed by the amalgamation of two or more others, and perhaps to indicate the presence of spiritual oneness among the members of the merged groups. The most charming name that I know of in this classification is the *Amicable Congregational Church* of North Tiverton, Rhode Island.

The third main category of church names, composed of religious and secular elements combined, is noticeably the smallest. It is also the most marked by efflorescent and untrammeled fancy. In New Orleans, names of this third category are borne by an unusually large percentage of the total number of Baptist churches, and are entirely the property of the Negro Baptists.

White Baptist congregations in New Orleans are distinguished today, as they were in 1941, by a definite predilection for secular names, and particularly for secular place names. In 1941 there

[5] The *Liberty Presbyterian Church* of Troy, New York, is a case apart. Originally it was located at First and Liberty Streets and was called *Liberty Street Presbyterian Church.* It is now on State Street near Sixth Avenue, almost half a mile from Liberty Street. When the move was made, the word *Street* was dropped, and a place name became a grace name.

[6] Non-Trinitarian denominations can find in *Unity* an adequate Deific name to substitute for *Trinity.* A combined Unitarian-Universalist congregation in Springfield, Massachusetts, is called the *Church of the Unity.*

were twenty-one white Baptist churches in New Orleans; sixteen bore secular names, and twelve of those were place names. Today the number of white churches is thirty-one; twenty-one have secular names, of which seventeen are the names of places. Street names are the most popular; there are churches named *Canal Boulevard*, *Carrollton Avenue*, *Coliseum Place*, *Franklin Avenue*, *Napoleon Avenue*, *St. Charles Avenue*, *Third Street*, and *Valence Street*. With these should be included the *Elysian Fields Baptist Church*, for although the complete thoroughfare name is not used, the church is located on Elysian Fields Avenue. Six congregations have neighborhood names: *Central*, *Mid-City*, *Gentilly*, *Lakeview*, *French Quarter Chapel*, and *Oak Park*. Three have numerical designations; one has a combined numerical and nationality designation — *First Spanish-American Baptist Church*. *Edgewater Baptist Church*, although honoring no specific neighborhood, bears witness to its location near Lake Pontchartrain. One name, *Golden Gate*, belongs to the class of place names without local reference.

The ten white churches which bear religious names all commemorate Biblical persons, places, and things. In only one, *St. Paul*, does the word *Saint* appear. Two congregations, *Trinity* and *Emmanuel*, bear names which express certain aspects of the nature of the Christian Deity; another, *Grace*, is named for an attribute which is both God-possessed and God-bestowed. Biblical places contribute *Bethany* and *Calvary*; Biblical edifices provide *Tabernacle* and *Temple*. One group commemorates an important event chronicled in the second chapter of Acts by calling itself *Pentecostal*; this name may also indicate participation in or approval of the "pentecostal" techniques of worship which characterize a fairly large segment of American Protestantism. And one congregation calls itself the *Bible Baptist Church*, to make known its more than ordinary fidelity to the precepts of that Book.

The names of most white Baptist churches in New Orleans follow a quite conservative secular pattern. They are oriented to specific realities in the here-and-now world rather than to emblems of a religious past. The minority of churches which bear religious names is equally conservative; all names are taken from the Bible, all are simple in form (one or two words), most commemorate *things* as do the secular names, and only one refers to a Biblical personage

other than God. The avoidance of all but the most common and well-known religious names probably signifies, in a city so heavily Roman Catholic in population, a desire to appear as unlike the Catholics as possible.

Such a desire does not seem to affect the Negro Baptists of the city much, if at all. The 1959 telephone directory lists 131 Negro Baptist congregations, and purely secular names are borne by only twelve of them — less than ten per cent. Six are numerical designations combined with some other term; in three of the names, the second half is the nationality term *African*. Two combine numerals with a geographical location which is itself numbered: *First African Baptist Church of the Sixth District* and *Second Baptist Church of the Sixth District*. One joins a numeral to a secular grace name — *Sixth Union Baptist Church*; and one prefixes its numeral with a somewhat pretentious adjective — *Historic Second Baptist Church*. Of the six remaining secular names, three are street names and three refer to non-local places: *Law Street* is a representative example of the former, *Plymouth Rock* of the latter. (This last is almost certainly intended to allude to the faith and virtue of the Pilgrim Fathers, even more than to the mere geographic locality.)

Negro churches with religious names number 52, slightly more than a third of the total. Neither the name nor the idea of sainthood is avoided; ten of these churches commemorate saints. Nine saints are New Testament personages, but one, *Saint Rose*, is post-Biblical. In 1941 there were two Negro Baptist churches named *Saint Mary's*, a name which, although Scriptural, is rarely used by American Protestants because of their abhorrence of anything like Mariolatry.

Biblical place names total nineteen, most of which are taken from the Old Testament. The names of physical eminences are apparently considered peculiarly appropriate to churches, which represent human attempts to reach spiritual heights. Seven congregations are named for Biblical mountains: *Mount Ararat, Mount Carmel, Mount Hermon, Mount Moriah, Mount Zion, Olivet,* and *Zion Hill.*[7] Biblical nations are another popular source, providing

[7] The 1941 list contains interesting variant spellings for two of these names (Mount Herman, Mount Mariah), as well as a *Mount Parin* (properly Paran—Deuteronomy 33:2) and a *Mount Corinth*. This last shows a certain unfamiliarity with Scriptural record, as does a present-day Mount Salem, since Corinth and Salem (Jerusalem) are Biblical cities.

Galatia, Israel,[8] and *Macedonia,* as well as *Beulah* and *Beulah Land* on a more spiritual plane. ("Thou shalt be called Hephzi-bah, and thy land Beulah: for the Lord delighteth in thee, and thy land shall be married." — Isa. 62: 4.) Biblical cities supply *Antioch* and *Bethsaida.* Ebenezer is the name of a stone set up by the prophet Samuel to commemorate an Israelite victory (I Sam. 7: 12), and as such carries a symbolic significance far greater than its importance as a geographical name. Perhaps the most obscure Biblical place to be adopted in the designation of a church is *Stone Ezal* (*sic*). Its source is I Samuel 20: 19, in Jonathan's speech to David: "thou shalt go down quickly, . . . and shalt remain by the stone Ezel." A marginal gloss translates Ezel as "that sheweth the way."

Several names contain the word *Star*; several others come only indirectly from the Bible. Two churches are named *Morning Star* and *Bright Morning Star*; these are Scriptural enough, being used to describe Jesus in Revelation 22: 16. By analogy with these, two other churches have been named *Evening Star* and *Rising Star.* There is also a *Star Bethel,* an interesting compound. Bethel was the place where Jacob dreamed, as recounted in Genesis 28: 10—19; there is, however, no star involved in the episode. It seems probable that the name was originally conceived as a parallel to the familiar phrase "star of Bethlehem," which is itself not found in the Bible. Even further from specific Biblical language, although clearly religious in connotation, are such names as *New Birth, New Hope,* and *New Light.* The first, although not a Biblical term, expresses one of the most fundamental ideas of New Testament Christianity (cf. John 3: 3, I Peter 1: 23). The second has no such evident source, but a glance at Hebrews 6: 18—20 shows its fitness for use as the name of a Christian church. *New Light* has been a fairly common term among Protestants since the days of the Old Light and New Light Burghers in eighteenth century Scotland. Light is throughout the Bible and in all later Christian literature a symbol of spiritual understanding; when it is prefixed by *New* it generally indicates the possession, by those who use it, of a special illumination which outsiders have not yet achieved. Finally, a religious tract and a hymn

[8] This might be regarded as a personal name, for such it originally was (cf. Genesis 32:28); however, the great majority of Biblical references to Israel are to the nation.

which have been Protestant favorites for more than two centuries are honored by churches named *Pilgrim Progress* (*sic*) and *Rock of Ages.*

The remaining 67 Negro Baptist congregations have names of the mixed type. Here are most of the seemingly extravagant coinages, such as the *Greater King Solomon Baptist Church*, the *Mount Pilgrim Fourth Baptist Church*, and the *Second Zion Baptist Church No. 1.* Even here, however, some elements of pattern may be isolated and described. The usual sequence of terms in mixed names consists of a numeral followed by a religious name, preceded by an adjective of size (*Greater, Lesser*) or of age (*Old, New*). Occasionally, as in the second example in this paragraph, the order is reversed.

In considering the elaborateness of such names and the large number of Negro groups which bear them, it is important to keep in mind the manner in which Negro free churches proliferate. Many are "store-front" congregations, with little formality in their services or in their organizations. Secessions are frequent. A splinter group may pay its respects to the parent congregation by adopting its name with a qualifying word (*New, Second, Greater*) added. These qualifying words may also be added simply to distinguish a new church from a totally unrelated older one which happens to bear a popular name. A large number of post office names in the United States have undergone a similar alteration. Among the Negro Baptists of New Orleans, *Zion* is the basic element in no fewer than eleven names of the mixed type: *First Zion, Greater Mount Zion, Little Zion* (two of these), *Little Zion No. 2, New Zion, Old Zion, Pleasant Zion, Second New Pleasant Zion, Second Zion, Second Zion No. 1,* and *Zion Travelers First. Pilgrim* has bred *First Pilgrim, Pilgrim Rest,* and *Mount Pilgrim Fourth.*

A few churches have names, compound and otherwise, which are the products of such elaborate or arcane mental processes that it is difficult to deal with them unaided. Attempts at correspondence with the clergymen in charge were fruitless. I can offer only conjectures regarding such names as *Amozion Baptist Church* and *Gloryland Mount Gillion Baptist Church.* In the 1941 directory an *Amazon Baptist Church* was listed, with the same street address as the present *Amozion.* During the intervening years the process of verbal corruption has evidently been at work, changing a non-local

place name to a nonce name with Biblical connotations (note the last four letters of the new version). The reason for the choice of the original name remains unknown to me. *Gloryland Mount Gillion* is the result of the merger of two congregations. *Gloryland* is clearly a non-Biblical religious place name, a common synonym for "Heaven"; *Mount Gillion*, however, is impossible to locate in either sacred or secular geography. It has been suggested to me that the name may be a portmanteau term. "Mount Gilead" appears in the seventh chapter of the book of Judges, which recounts the story of Gideon's battle with the Midianites. The first syllable of *Gilead* and the last two of *Gideon*, combined, result in the blend *Gillion*. This remains no more than a possibility. On the other hand, such a name as *Crescent Straight Life Missionary Baptist Church* may be analyzed with comparative ease, despite its unusual length and complexity. *Crescent* is a secular place name, referring to the bend in the Mississippi River at New Orleans and to that part of the city adjacent to it; *Straight Life*, for all its echoes of the insurance policy, is here evidently a secular grace name suggestive of a morally upright existence; *Missionary*, found as an element of many Baptist church names in the South, shows approval and support of evangelistic activities, as opposed to "Hard Shell" or anti-missionary congregations.

Although a number of sociological treatises deal with the Christian religion as practiced by American Negroes,[9] the manner in which church naming reflects differences between white and Negro religion has been discussed only incidentally. The names which have been studied are those of independent and "cult" congregations, rather than those found in denominations to which a great number of Negroes belong, and are consequently not truly representative.

The differences between white and Negro Baptists in New Orleans — between their attitudes toward the religion they practice and the world they live in — are probably mirrored quite accurately in the striking divergences of their church-naming patterns. The white congregations take their names primarily from "this present world,"

[9] Most important of these is Benjamin E. Mays and Joseph W. Nicholson, *The Negro's Church* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933). Other accounts include Carter G. Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church* (Washington: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1921) and Maurice R. Davis, *Negroes in American Society* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949), ch. 7, "The Negro and Religion."

and particularly from their own immediate neighborhoods. This would seem to indicate a primary concern with what religion can do in this world and for its people, rather than with the best way to prepare men for another world. In contrast, the names of almost all the Negro churches contain some religious element, although by no means all are strictly religious, and several have no direct Biblical derivation. The great popularity of definitely religious words and phrases in church names indicates that the religious life of New Orleans Negro Baptists is otherworldly in its orientation, directed toward a consideration of a better life which is not here but to come. The individual names which are most used, singly and in compounds, go far toward substantiating this contention. *Morning Star* is not only an Apocalyptic name for Jesus; it is, even within its Biblical context, a term of hope and aspiration. The star, indeed, is a symbol of aspiration in our most common proverbs. *Pilgrim* is no less a term of search and spiritual desire. "These all. . .confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. For they say that such things declare plainly that they seek a country" (Hebr. 11: 13, 14). *Zion* has become, in Christian history, a synonym for the Christian church and the New Jerusalem as well as the Old Testament mountain of God. Such hymns as John Newton's "Glorious things of thee are spoken, Zion, city of our God," and Thomas Kelly's "Zion stands with hills surrounded" extol the wonders of the heavenly city and its colony upon earth. The Negro Baptists of New Orleans, if the names of their churches are any criterion, still think of themselves as seekers after a more desirable habitation, as did those other temporally handicapped people, the early Christians. Their extensive use of elaborate mixed names shows a willingness to use not only faith, but imagination and inventiveness, in the search.[10]

University of Nebraska

[10] As a sort of check upon the study described in this paper, I classified the white and Negro Baptist congregations of two medium-sized Midwest cities which I know well – Lincoln, Nebraska, and Waterloo, Iowa. These cities have far fewer Baptist churches than New Orleans (eight in Lincoln, seven in Waterloo); but both provide confirmation, on a smaller scale, of the basic trend noted in the Southern city: whites favoring secular names, Negroes preferring religious.

Below are tabulations of the names of Baptist churches in these cities, under the heading *Religious* and *Secular*. The appropriate subclass is indicated by words in parentheses following the name of each church. Negro congregations are identified by the letter "N" in parentheses placed before the name.

RELIGIOUS	*SECULAR*
LINCOLN	
Immanuel (personal)	Belmont (neighborhood)
(N) Mount Zion (place)	First (numerical)
Temple (place)	First (Southern) (numerical)
	Second (numerical)
	Sheridan Boulevard (street)
WATERLOO	
(N) Antioch (place)	Burton Avenue (street)
(N) Mount Carmel (place)	First (numerical)
	Hagerman (neighborhood)
	(N) Union (secular grace name)
	Walnut Street (street)

ADDENDUM:

In a communication of June 23, 1960, Professor Kemp Malone wrote as follows: "The Amo- of the church name Amo-Zion certainly has nothing to do with Amazon. Theo o is not clear to me but the Am means African Methodist I feel pretty sure. Perhaps the name was really Ame-Zion. If so, Ame- is not a true part of the name; it merely indicates that this particular Zion church belonged to the African Methodist Episcopal denomination."

JOHN LYMAN

HECETA and *HECATE*

As a footnote to Walter C. Kraft's article on Heceta in Oregon, it might be pointed out that Hecate occurs at least eight times in British Columbia waters, as the name of an island, bay, channel, cove, passage, and two rocks, as well as the strait. Although unquestionably ultimately from the Greek goddess, all these names doubtless were derived proximately from H. B. M. Ship *Hecate*, which was actively surveying in these waters in 1862.

The year 1862 was also the year in which the U.S. Coast & Geodetic Survey bestowed Don Bruno de Heceta's name upon the head and the bank in its offing on the Oregon coast[1] (the beach, which is the stretch of coast between the headland and the Siuslaw River, seems to have acquired its name later from that of the head). Doubtless the maritime community, who were the first to make use of the new names, but who received them solely in the form of the printed word, in charts and sailing directions, confused them with that of the ship *Hecate* and pronounced them accordingly.

National Science Foundation
Washington 25, D.C.

NAMES NOT BRIEF. — Recent correspondence received at the secretary's office reveals that our member who has laid claim to the longest name on record now is well beyond any challenge. Although he signs his letter "Hubert Blaine Wolfeschlegelsteinhausenbergerdorff, Sr. (for short)", his "full name as given ... at birth on the envelope" reads: "Adolph Blaine Charles David Earl

[1] George Davidson, *Coast Pilot of California, Oregon, and Washington* (Washington, 1889), p. 408.

Frederick Gerald Hubert Irvin John Kenneth Lloyd Martin Nero Oliver Paul Quincy Randolph Sherman Thomas Uncas Victor William Xerxes Yancy Zeus Wolfeschlegelsteinhausenbergerdorffvoralternwarengewissenhaftschaferswessenschaftswarenwohlgefuttern-undsorgfaltigkeitbeschutzenvorangreifendurchihrraubgierigfeinds, Senior."

F. L. Kramer

FAUBUS. In connection with recent suggestions concerning the origin of the name Faubus (*Names*, V, 225; VI, 125), investigators might be interested to know that residents of Huntsville, Arkansas, the Governor's home town, tell me that it is frequently pronounced "Forbush" there (like Nellie Forbush, from Little Rock, in *South Pacific*).

Albert Howard Carter

University of Arkansas

Book Reviews

George R. Stewart, *Names on the Land: A Historical Account of Place-Naming in the United States.* Revised and enlarged edition with illustrations. Boston (Houghton Mifflin Co.) and Cambridge (Riverside Press), 1958. $6.00.

This is not an entirely new book since it appeared first in 1945, and pages 1—386 and 439—441 (= pages 387—389 of the first edition) are identical, reproduced from the original plates. It nevertheless deserves to be reviewed in *Names* because 104 new pages have been added in the present edition and also because the first edition appeared several years before this journal came into being, so that the book is new for many of its readers. It has been reproduced with a few changes made in the plates (p. VII) but the text stands "almost as it was originally written" (*ibid.*). The actually new material is found in the added supplement, *viz.* chapters XLIV on Alaska names (cf. also the author's article "The Name Alaska," *Names* 4.93—204), XLV on Hawaii names, and XLVI on Current Affairs, 1944—58, Notes and References (all about 94 additional pages, 386—482, except the postscript [439—41] that belonged to the first edition also), plus 16 pages of illustrations set between p. 256 and p. 257. The notes supply references to special works but also some additional material, especially on controversial points, whereby the author also occasionally modifies his own views. The 28 pages of the index of the first edition are increased to 29 pages in the second to include additional names on Alaska, Hawaii, and from Current affairs as well. The type, the same in both editions, is fine and the printing excellent.[1]

If the late Fernand Mossé, a reviewer of the first edition, were to write a review of this new edition, he would probably have

[1] In misprints, I encountered only four (*Burrell* for *Burrill* on p. 460 [note for p. 123, l. 6], *laughing-mattor* in both editions on p. 372, l. 13; *in* for *is* on p. 397, l. 12; *aborginal* for *aboriginal* on p. 407, l. 15 from bottom) and misaccentuation in a couple of Greek words (in both editions, p. 283, l. 9 from bottom).

changed his statement about the book.[2] For, beside the additions on names of Alaska and Hawaii and the changes noted during the fifteen year period 1944 -1958, it now offers 437 notes and numerous references in them.

What does the author think of his book? On the dust-jacket a subtitle is added: "The famous classic of place-naming in the United States" and the author notes in his foreword (p. VII) with satisfaction that this "pioneer work" (p. VII) has been very often called a "classic," and for this reason he decided not to change the text. He, "born with a love of names" (p. VIII), considers it his own favorite among a rather large number of books he has written (p. IX).

"The purpose of the book is to present the process of naming ‹places›, not to make it a place-name dictionary" (p. 439) and it "deals primarily with processes" (440). The names discussed in the work were selected for four reasons (439): (1) names being of national significance, (2) illustrating the habits or fashions of place-naming, (3) falling into line in connection with the work of a particular namer, and (4) having a manner of origin that seemed of unusual interest. The author made use of seven classes of source materials (440f.); he used books but also gathered information from original sources and interpreted it "according to my own lights," he says (440).

Is it possible to treat adequately the place-names of a vast country that includes fifty states? "Even a whole library could hardly be sufficient for exhaustive treatment of the place-names of the United States," Stewart says (444) with some exaggeration. But he is right in declaring that a survey of place-names on a national scale is one of the future enterprises of American scholarship (439). At present, there is adequate coverage available for only seven states (Arizona, Minnesota, South Dakota, Washington, California, West Virginia). *Place-Names of the United States* may cover a corpus of several volumes written by a number of trained American onomatologists as a well prepared and long project with exacting

[2] F. Mossé, *Onomastica* 1 (1947), 158: "Le livre de G. R. Stewart n'est pas un livre d'érudition. Il est dépourvu de notes et de références et ne comporte pas de véritable bibliographie. Écrit pour le grand public, le livre fait un tableau historique du développement des noms de lieu. Il satisfera des curiosités; s'il suscitait des vocations, il répondrait encore mieux à son but."

scrutiny of the recorded history of each name, but such a grand project may be realized in the next century.

In its place Stewart's *Names on the Land*, dealing, as said above, primarily with processes of naming places and being the first work of its kind, is a well written and readable account and fills a real need for the educated American public at large (and for all lovers of names) who wish to be informed on the names of rivers, lakes, bays, mountains, plains, points, states, territories, counties, cities, towns, streets, and the rest. It is a synthesis of the process of naming at work (how names were given), of principles and rules, and interprets names in the light of recorded history and of the change of the times. The cardinal virtues of the book are, as far as I can judge, four: (a) clear exposition with no complicated and obscure terminology or interpretation of the names; (b) a historical exposition of the naming of the namable places as it took place in each period; (c) a pleasant style (not without humor interspersed) which is remarkably effective in a work dealing with over two thousand names; and (d) the masterly handling of the name material in forty-six chapters, which being mostly short can be read in successive sessions without one's losing the continuity of the whole. And the whole has the air of a history of the United States as it appears in its namelore.

What about the numbers of place-names? The United States displays a remarkable sparsity of place-names as compared with European standards, since estimates for the continental United States yield a figure of only a little over one name to the square mile as contrasted, e.g., with 150 place-names to the square mile in Sweden (so p. 418 and note 3 on p. 444). Even so the total number of the American place names runs into the millions (342, 381) with a tentative estimate by Stewart at 3,000,000 names and another million obsolete names (444, note 3). Among them there are some 50,000 inhabited places in the U.S. (242, 360) and another 50,000 extinct names that exist in the records (242). Mention is made of one man, A. H. Sylvester of the Forest Service (early in the 20th century), who alone planted 3,000 names (357). In addition, thousands of names maintain themselves on an informal basis, many new ones are being constantly invented, and many old ones die out yearly (377). Out of the U.S. place names estimated

in the millions, Stewart includes in his book a total of ca. 2400 in his 2562 entries of the index, which, as he indicated (483), does not list hundreds of other names cited in the text simply as examples.

The illustrations on sixteen unnumbered pages (inserted between pages 256 and 257) reproduce on better, glossy paper four maps, photo pictures of places with descriptive names, maps showing the distribution of watercourse generics (creek, brook, run, stream), maps dotting counties with saints' names, maps showing states with counties named for Washington, one indicating the distribution of *coulee* in place names, another showing the location of 32 Winchesters in 25 states, pictures of 18 signposts on U.S. highway 40 (reproduced from the author's well-known book *U.S. 40*), and two maps illustrating the distribution of *-ville* and *-burg* in N.E. states. All these 16 pages are new in the 1958 edition of *Names on the Land.*

With regard to the titles of the chapters, some do not seem to give their exact content in names, e.g. the title *How they fought again* (p. 295). It is true, on the other hand, that any arrangement of the material in a book of this form and scope had to be arbitrary. The *Notes and References* fill a real need in the book and help raise its standards.

It should be stressed that the book makes pleasant reading and informs the reader without boring him, especially through some tricky examples of names that we use without thinking of their origin and history. The refreshing style is that of a literary piece. The reader of the various chapters may have the impression, it seems to me, of reading short stories strung together and again of a continuous historical novel around the great theme of naming.

The chapters on the Board on Geographic Names (The rules and regulations, 340–346; Of modern methods, 353 ff.) are informative on the practices of that government body. The various modern methods of American naming are curious and interesting.

The author, officer for years and president (1957) of the American Name Society, says the following of the Society and its journal (433): "Perhaps the most important development has been the establishment of the American Name Society, with membership open to all interested people. Since 1953 it has sponsored the publication of the quarterly journal *Names*. Thus for the first time the

name-scholars of America have begun to attain a position that their European counterparts have occupied for a century." He might have added the names of two men who worked more than anyone else to establish it firmly, Professor Erwin G. Gudde of California, Editor for five years, and Elsdon C. Smith, first president (for three years) and indefatigable sponsor and promotor of the Society's affairs.

I could single out fine examples of the author's skilful discussion of place names and I could offer a few remarks here and there but for lack of space I confine myself to one point and it is one on which I must disagree with the author.

The sweeping statement (on p. 460f., note for p. 129) about European onomatologists, occasioned by the fact that British scholars do not discuss the name *Lover's Leap* (which occurs in the British Isles) seems to me injudicious. Stewart says: "This is the natural result of what may be considered the general policy among European onomatologists to ignore recent nomenclature. Few of them are really students of place-names. Instead, they are learned linguists, specializing in the etymology of names, but ignorant of the ways in which human beings actually give names, and not really interested in the matter. I consider this unfortunate." To condemn European onomatologists like this is a very serious matter. I do not think that it is true that they ignore recent nomenclature; on the contrary, the study of the dialects includes also the study of the names; the various place-names societies and onomastic journals in Europe refute Stewart's argument; the *International Center of Onomastic Sciences* in Belgium and its organ *Onoma* with bibliographies published in it demonstrate the opposite. Onomatology is not merely "European" but it is English, French, German, Swedish, Slavic, Greek, etc., and is at various stages of progress in different areas. The statement that "few of them are really students of place-names" is true and untrue. Students of names in Europe and in America alike are few, but there are more onomatologists in Europe; if he stresses "students of place names," one could maintain there are more students of place names than of personal names. In any case, Mr. Stewart's general statement contradicts what he stated on p. 433: "Thus for the first time [in 1953] the name-scholars of America have begun to attain the position that their European counterparts have occupied for a century."

As far as the method of etymologizing is concerned, it is the only one possible for names that are prehistoric or for names for which there is no information recorded; this does not mean that wild etymologizing should be defended. Furthermore, etymology in its broader sense of Meillet's concept includes the history of the words, and in our case of the names, and does not differ from the *historical* treatment of words and names.

I do not wish to imply that Mr. Stewart's judgment is not based on first-hand knowledge of German, French, and other onomatology of Europe but it so happens that in his book no reference whatsoever is made to any French, German, or other

standard works of European scholars on names on points of general principles in onomastics. A wholesale condemnation of hundreds of onomatologists is no credit to us.

In conclusion, I may say that Stewart's treatment of some specific place names may not be definitive but his book was not written to be definitive. But *Names on the Land*, the seventh in a list of the author's sixteen books, may be his best and, in any case, it is a classic. Much that he says about place-naming is sound, and many names are neatly classed together as governed by the same principles of naming. The exposition shows the prominent onomatologist at work.[3] It is, therefore, recommended to those who deal with American place names, to European scholars, to those engaged in the comparative study of names, and to the teachers of geography and history, to all those who wish to acquire further understanding of American language, literature, geography, and history (for names are part of all these disciplines). We also hope that Mr. Stewart will continue his work on names for many years to come.

Demetrius J. Georgacas

University of North Dakota

Noah Jonathan Jacobs, *Naming-Day in Eden: the Creation and Recreation of Language*. New York, Macmillan, 1958. Pp. xiii 159. $ 3.95.

Mr. Jacobs, identified by his publisher as the Brooklyn-born Librarian of the Linguistics Department at the University of Jerusalem, has here put together a highly entertaining discussion of interesting names and their origins. As a unifying theme he employs Adam's experience in naming beast and fowl, together with his adventure with Eve and the apple. His adroitness in manipulating this theme for his purposes is little short of wonderful. In addition he is witty and skillful at punning and other kinds of word play allowing for occasional lapses.

[3] See, e.g., the statements on the following pages (and lines in parentheses): *7* (16–18), *10* (20ff.), *18* (3ff.), *57* (16f.), *59* (18f.), *62* (3–5), *64* (24), *65* (8), *108*, *114* (17–19), *187* (33ff.), *196* (1, 21f.), *203* (19ff.), *205* (9ff.), *379* (last two lines), *381*ff., *412* (11f.), *431* (13–19), *437* (16f.), *444* (note 4), *449* (note 38), etc.

As an added dividend, for those who like it (and I do), he employs a vocabulary which smacks of the pages of such oldtime vocabulary builders as Robert Burton and Sir Thomas Browne. Out of many, I particularly enjoyed *hippocrepian* (horseshoe-shaped), *satyriasis* (insatiable sexual desire of the male), *mumpsimus* (pigheadedness, even after one's error has been pointed out), *nosism* (narcissism or self-conceit), *ubication* (whereness), *impransus* (without breakfast), *boanthropy* (man acting like an ox — Nebuchadnezzar's trouble), *lipogrammatist* (one who omits certain letters in writing), *onolatry* (the worship of asses), *disquiparancy* (an unsymmetrical relation of things — I now have a name for the odd titles of Ivy Compton-Burnett's novels), *asteism* (urbane wit or irony — I must treasure this one with hopes of cultivating it), and *opisthography* (writing on the backs of sheets of paper — I have been doing it all these years without knowing the name for it). And all these matters presented with marked logodaedaly.

Although most of Mr. Jacobs' examples are from English, he freely draws on a dozen or two other languages. Some of these clusters of parallel vocabulary make good reading, as, for example, that on the bat, as does such information as the fact that the Germans call the Italians *macaroni*, the Rumanians call the Bulgarians *onions and garlic*, and the Australians refer to Frenchmen as *wi-wis*.

One must hesitate to take all that Mr. Jacobs says at face value, however, for some of his statements are wrong or questionable. *Calico*, of course, is named after Calicut, not Calcutta. It is surely inaccurate, furthermore, to say that, whereas the Chinese substitute *l* for *r*, the Japanese do it the other way around. I can still hear our cute little girl guide on a rubberneck bus in Tokyo pointing out the *melly-go-lound* in a large park and the public *liblely* not far away. To tie *pretzel* to the Latin *pretiola*, reward, seems to disagree with most dictionaries, and Old Nick, not St. Nicolaus, should probably be given credit for *nickel*. By the way, the author's presentation of *pygarg* as a kind of antelope whose name in Greek means white rump, given as an example of names of birds and beasts based on color, might well be supplemented with the name of the bird called the *wheatear*, whose name in Anglo-Saxon originally also meant white rump (to put it politely).

Mr. Jacobs has collected a large platter full of stories, jokes, puns, epitaphs, and scraps of poetry connected with the history of names,

and he serves them up with a garnish of philosophy, psychology, religion, and whatnot. Many of the stories are well known, but others, not among the usual chestnuts, will delight the jaded reader. Writing in a frisky, bantering style, with irrepressible verve and enthusiasm, he has concocted a good book for amateur lovers of names and their ways.

Eugene B. Vest

University of Illinois, Chicago

Olof Brattö, *Filipe, Henrique e outros nomes próprios em Portugal e na Europa.* Gotemburgo: Instituto Ibero-Americano, and Lisboa: Casa Portuguesa, 1958. Pp. 58.

Brattö's booklet represents the European technique of *haute vulgarisation* at its most distinguished. It is written in an unobtrusively entertaining tone, on an adult level, and owes its charm and liveliness to the selection and blending of topics, some of which contain an inherently attractive element of surprise or exposé (e.g. the concluding chapter on false documents, dealing with all kinds of fakes and interpolations). Yet the demanding reader enjoys throughout a triple guarantee of professional seriousness: the author's long training under the guidance of that rigorous anthroponymist, Göteborg's Karl Michaëlsson, to whom the pamphlet is tastefully dedicated; his earlier weighty monographs slanted in the direction of Old Florentine onomastics (1953, 1955); and a surprisingly full apparatus of notes (pp. 35–49), separated by a helpful index from a short formal bibliography (pp. 53–55). As a result whenever Brattö avers that a certain name made its appearance, let us say, in Italy earlier, and in the Iberian peninsula later, then in medieval France, the reader has the assurance that this statement is based not on guesswork, wishful thinking, or preconceived ideas but on a careful, systematic perusal of many, if not all, relevant sources.

Since the writer's primary competence is in the domain of Old Italian, he has wisely chosen for his onomastic vignettes such anthroponyms as have pan-European implications, the more so as the treatment of strictly Galician-Portuguese material has to an appreciable extent been preëmpted by J. Leite de Vasconcelos (1928

1931), J. M. Piel (with special reference to Germanic elements), and Pierre David (with respect to hagionymy). A postscript (pp. 33–34) appropriately indicates how much urgently needed research, despite the spadework carried out by those pioneers, remains to be done and along what line newcomers to the field should first bend their efforts.

One gathers that Brattö's studiedly sparing exemplification has not been entirely casual, though he at no time pauses to account for his pattern of selection. In some instances the sheer intricacy or picturesqueness of the routes of transmission, I suppose, recommended a name for inclusion, as when *Filipe* is shown to have spread from Byzantium to Kievan Russia, thence, on the one hand, to Scandinavia, and on the other, through the personal endeavor of Russian-born Queen Ann of France (11th century), to her adopted country, and eventually to the entire west. (This is, incidentally, the same queen, Brattö might have reminded us, who did such a distinctive service to Romance linguists by once writing her French name and title in Cyrillic characters.) *Henrique* presumably qualified for a liberal share of space, because the Portuguese reader at once associates this name with the founder of his country's first dynasty. If the finely graded spectrum of descendants of *Iacobus* comes up for inspection more than once (pp. 20–22, 26–27), such extra measure of attention may testify to the intersection, at this particular point, of Biblical and Byzantine cultural trajectories with the itinerary of late medieval pilgrimages to Santiago (= *Sant-Iago*) de Compostela. A few moot points of sound development are discreetly relegated to the notes, allowing the vitally important pattern of historical cross-currents, affecting above all Church and nobility, to stand out in undiminished relief.

Here and there the specialist will be tempted to pencil in a question-mark. One misses a brief comment on the contrast, in modern Spanish, between *Felipe*, applied to natives (including famous monarchs), and learned *Filipo* (*de Macedonia*); the gap between the two forms was narrower in the Middle Ages, when the last-mentioned was known as *Felip(p)o*, cf. *Alexandr-e, -o* beside mod. *Alejandro*. Of the two explanations offered for the Ptg. topon. *Fipo*, only the first carries conviction. The attempted separation of OSp. from mod. Sp. *Enrique* (Brattö traces the former to Provençal and

the latter, of all sources, to Low German) must be written off as infelicitous. A brief hint (influence of *aráb-igo*, *-ico*, and the like) would have sufficed to explain the striking accentual opposition between Hisp. *Américo* and cognate It. *Amerígo*. *Berengario* is best labeled hybrid, since the suffix alone appears in learned shape. The different adoption of imported names by Spanish and Portuguese (*Federico* ~ *Frederico*, *Felipe* ~ *Filipe*, *Guillermo* ~ *Guilherme*, *Martín* ~ *Martinho*; orthographically, also *Enrique* ~ *Henrique*), being apt to titillate any uninitiated reader's curiosity, might have deserved heavier emphasis. Furthermore, a few words on Sp. *Cristóbal*, a Christian name familiar to everybody from Columbus, would have given point to the statement that Ptg. *Cristóvão* was influenced by *Estêvão*. The analysis of *Oliveiros*, a lately much-discussed name rich in epic reverberations, is downright meager, the incidental statement on the characteristic patronymics ending in *-ez* (*-es*) fails to do justice to the complexity of this much-labored problem, and one is forced to ferret out of n. 69a slender shred of information on the noteworthy ancient triad *Isidro* ~ *Esidre* ~ *Isidoro*. If the available space was at a premium, such issues should have altogether been omitted rather than being diluted or drastically simplified. The author's Hebrew is in need of some refurbishing (the patriarch's name was *Yacaqob*), and the sustained neglect of the Slavic world -- except for Queen Ann — amid such ebullient enthusiasm for Byzantium and its Venetian prong strikes one as inexplicable.

But these are, after all, minutiae. Essentially, Brattö deserves praise for having skillfully and impartially divided his attention between the Germanic and the Judeo-Christian strains (the former centered in France, the latter anchored in Rome and in Constantinople), between deeply rooted indigenous and floating migratory formations, between the aristocratic and the rustic (or plebeian) layer. In concluding, let me commend him most of all for having produced, in a language not his own, a highly readable booklet which — a veritable *tour de force* — is bound to whet the layman's appetite and yet to raise no expert's eyebrows.

Yakov Malkiel

University of California, Berkeley

Arizona Place Names. By Will C. Barnes. Revised and enlarged by Byrd H. Granger. Illustrated by Anne Merriman Peck. Tucson, The University of Arizona Press, 1960. Pp. xix, 519. $10.00.

To this reviewer, the publication of a comprehensive collection of state place names constitutes a major publishing event. To a good many people, a new edition of place names is about as important as a new issue of the telephone directory: you have a list of places with their names and where to find them. That is all. But to the true place name collector, a name is not only the identification of a place in time and space, but it unlocks its entire meaning. In fact, the name is all there is to a place, any place, so far as human beings have an interest in it. Without a name, a place simply would not be: without a history of the name, the place has no meaning.

Dr. Byrd H. Granger has brought together material which she and others have been collecting for years in order to revise Will C. Barnes' *Arizona Place Names*, which was published in 1935. A "Pronunciation Guide" to the Indian names has been added to the Barnes volume, and the classification of names by county groups has been substituted for his overall alphabetical listing. An "Index" guides the reader to the county where the name is discussed. The original Barnes bibliography has been greatly expanded, and for the overall state map found in Barnes, Dr. Granger has supplied maps for each county, marginally numbered and lettered for exact place name locations. Few of the names appear on the maps, however, and the reference apparatus, though exact, is a bit cumbersome. One wonders whether it is any more satisfactory for locating places than directions based upon the points of the compass and mileage from federal and state highways, major settlements, and known landmarks. However, Dr. Granger also uses such data occasionally to supplement the map citations.

The method of Barnes has, on the whole, been followed, i.e., giving elevations, county location, map references, but the materials have been entirely rewritten and source references indicated by a key to the bibliography or to the biographical section where thumbnail sketches are given of more than 150 individuals who have contributed to the dictionary. The book is a large handsomely bound volume with wood or linoleum block illustrations for each county chapter, picturing the chief industrial or agricultural ac-

tivities. Thus, a book gleaned from many minds and the application of many hands finds its way to the bookshelf. One can predict that it will rest on many a reading desk, and will long absorb the attention of readers everywhere.

T. M. Pearce

University of New Mexico, Albuquerque

Captain T. D. Manning and Commander C. F. Walker, *British Warship Names*, Putnam, London, and Cornell Maritime Press, Cambridge (Md.), 1959, pp. 498. $7.50.

In a country where the tradition of the seas is so strong, the names given to the ships that protected the country are important not only to the men who serve on them but to the citizens as well. Indeed, next to personal names and place names, ship names probably generate the most affection.

The authors, two naval officers, found that they had a mutual interest in these names. Later when they shared quarters in London during the war, they both served on a committee charged with selecting names suitable for H. M. ships. Choosing really suitable names they found to be no slight task.

Three books had already been published on British ship names, *Men-of-War Names* (2nd ed., 1908), W. G. Gates, *Ships of the British Navy* (1905), and H. S. Lecky, *The King's Ships* (1913). In this country Robert W. Neeser's *Ship Names of the United States Navy*, published in 1921, is comparable.

After introductory chapters, the dictionary begins on page 67. It sets out, in alphabetical order, the names of important naval ships with a list, under each name, of the ships that have borne the name together with the date of introduction of the ship into the Royal Navy and the war records of the ships bearing each name. In most cases the meanings or derivations of the names have been given.

Elsdon C. Smith

Evanston, Ill.

James Pennethorne Hughes, *How You Got Your Name*, London, Phoenix House, 1959, pp. 120.

This is a small, popular book on the origin and meaning of surnames. The author is not an onomastic scholar and his book contains nothing new on the subject. An inspection of his brief list of "Authorities" brings into focus his limited and spotty knowledge of the subject.

However, he has written a good, general, although not particularly accurate, account of the four classes of family names which may excite an interest in some persons to pursue the matter further. And that is good.

Evanston, Ill. Elsdon C. Smith

Sever Pop: Jaroslav Bohdan Rudnyćkyj. Notice biographique et bibliographique et Résumé de sa Communication. Louvain, Belgium: Centre International de Dialectologie générale, 1958. Pp. 29.

This book was dedicated to Professor J. B. Rudnyćkyj, Head of the Slavic Department of the University of Manitoba, and President of the Canadian Association of Slavists, the Canadian Linguistic Association, the UVAN (Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences), and the American Name Society (1959), in celebration of his twenty-five years of "internationally known scientific activity."

E. W. M.

Rudnyćkyj, J. B., compiler, assisted by E. H. Bedford (Russica), J. Hirschbaum (Slovakica), D. Sokulody (Ukrainica), V. Turek (Polonica). Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1958. *Slavistica* No. 33. *Slavica Canadiana ad 1957*. Pp. 48. 50¢.

Part I: Selected bibliography of Slavic books and pamphlets published in or relating to Canada with supplementary listings for 1951–1956.

Part II: Reviews, comments and reports.

E. W. M.

SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ONOMASTIC SCIENCES

This report, though appearing belatedly, may be of interest to many members of the American Name Society and readers of *Names*. The writer extends his thanks to Professor Karl Puchner for his kind help with relevant information.

The principal advantages of international congresses are (1) that they allow for personal contacts on a large scale among members from many countries of the world, and (2) the activity at the congresses and these personal contacts afford the mutual stimulation on the research level. It is well known that the United States is not a favorable site for international congresses, for their organization here would mean costly transportation and other high expenses for European scholars. It is, therefore, a pleasure to report that the next international congress of linguists will take place in the United States in 1962 and the 4th international congress of classical studies in 1964, both with subsidy provided for at least some of the participating scholars.

Onomatology has made great progress, especially since World War II, and international congresses of onomastic sciences have so far numbered six. It is probably interesting to the reader to have a few data about the two previous congresses as a basis for comparison. The first of these was held in Paris in 1938; it was there that it was decided to set up one congress every three years. The third one was held in Brussels, Belgium, in 1949. The fourth one was held at Uppsala, Sweden, August 18–21, 1952 (see A. Belden and J. G. Mutziger, *Names* 1 [1953], 52f.), and was attended by about 200 persons from 24 countries and by eight members of the *ANS*, including three Americans and one Canadian. In fifteen group sessions fifty papers were listed. The *Acta* were published in two volumes (1: the program, 52 pp., 2: Reports and lectures, 432 pp.), so that we learn that there were 43 lectures and topics. The fifth congress in Salamanca, Spain, April 12–15, 1955, attracted

more than 200 scholars from some 25 countries and 80 papers on a variety of subjects were given (see the announcements in *Names* 2 [1954], 285, and 3 [1955], 50 and the reports of L. Heck, *Names* 3 [1955], 123–34; M. F. Burrill, *ibid.*, 124f.). The seventh congress will convene in Florence, Italy, Easter 1961.

The sixth congress took place in Munich, Germany, August 24–28, 1958. Munich had been chosen for the second congress, scheduled for 1941, but not held because of the war. Presidents of the 1958 Congress were Professor A. Bach and Professor G. Rohlfs. Presidents of the Scientific Committee were Professor A. Bach (Bonn) and G. Rohlfs (Munich), Professor H. Krahe (Tübingen), Professor H. J. Van de Wijer (Louvain), and Professor E. Schwarz. The Committee consisted of 74 members, three of whom, unfortunately, died before the Congress convened: Albert Dauzat of Paris, Giandomenico Serra of Naples, and Petar Skok of Zagreb. The Secretary-General, Professor Karl Puchner (Munich), was in charge of the organizational details and is largely to be credited with the success of the congress.

The participating onomatologists represented 33 countries (more countries than in any earlier congress). The Russian onomatologist Boris Serebrennikov (Institute for Onomastics, Academy of Sciences in Moscow) had planned to come, but was unable to attend, and only a few came from countries behind the iron curtain (Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania). The printed program, *VIth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences* (Munich, 1958), 115 pages, was distributed along with other complimentary materials to the registered participants and is obtainable from Professor K. Puchner (Arcisstrasse 12, Munich 2). The first volume of the *Transactions and Memoirs*, containing the seven lectures delivered in plenary sessions has now appeared (May 1960), while the second and third volumes, containing the summaries of the papers read, will appear in 1961.

Four hundred seventy-six persons had announced their participation in the congress, but about 400 actually attended, many accompanied by their wives. The total number in attendance reached 500 or more. Out of 143 persons announced as active in the program there were 105 actual participants. All of these figures represent substantial increases compared with the preceding congresses.

Those attending from North America were: from the United States: Meredith F. Burrill (Washington, D.C.), T. Fotich (Catholic University of America), Demetrius J. Georgacas (Univ. of North Dakota), Ernst Pulgram (Univ. of Michigan), Carl Selmer (Hunter College), Alfred Senn (Univ. of Pennsylvania), Elsdon C. Smith and Mrs. Smith (Evanston, Ill.), Otto Springer (Univ. of Pennsylvania), Joshua Whatmough and Mrs. Whatmough (Harvard Univ.), Daniel Wogan (New Orleans); from Canada: Jaroslav B. Rudnyćkyj (Univ. of Manitoba).*

The activities of the congress in the program included seven lectures and 146 papers in ten sections (section 8 having a subdivision 8a); brief abstracts (except for five given in titles only) of the papers were offered in the printed program in book form (pp. 47–113), arranged in alphabetical order according to authors' names. The sections and number of papers in each were distributed as follows (*O.* means *Onomastics*):

1. General O. (Methodology and systematics): 14 papers
2. River Names: 12 papers
3. Germanic O.: 17 papers
4. German O.: 18 papers
5. Relations of Germanic and Romance O.: 8 papers
6. Romance O.: 18 papers
7. Slavic O.: 10 papers
8. Indo-European and Pre-Indo-European O.: 17 papers

8a. Greek O.: 9 papers

9. Non-Indo-European O.: 18 papers
10. International Standardization of Geographic Names: 5 papers.

Some emphasis was laid on Germanic and German onomastics, as was to be expected, since the congress took place in Germany (sections 3–5 representing 43 papers).

The content and the importance of the papers read and discussed in the sessions cannot be given (and no one could possibly have attended all the sessions, since many were simultaneous). But the lectures delivered by prominent scholars of onomastics in plenary sessions may be listed here (*G.* means *in German*):

J. Corominas (Chicago), *Spanish Toponomastics* (in French)

* It might be interesting to note that Professor J. B. Rudnyćkyj, a past president of the American Name Society (1959), has attended all six international onomastic congresses.

G. Rohlfs (Munich), *European River Names and their Historical Problems* (G.)

J. Sahlgren (Uppsala), *Old Swedish River Names* (G.)

E. Schwarz (Erlangen), *German-Slavic Name Relations from the Baltic Sea to the Adriatic* (G.)

M. Vasmer (Berlin), *The Russian Colonization in the Mirror of the Place Names* (G.)

J. Whatmough (Harvard), *Onomastics and Linguistics* (in English)

L. Weisgerber (Bonn), *The Linguistic Stratification of the Early Personal Names in the Rhine* Area (G.)

All of these lectures were significant; that of Prof. Weisgerber given in Augsburg (August 27) was spectacular for the originality of the work and striking and far-reaching conclusions.

Papers read by Americans and the one Canadian, all members of the American Name Society, are listed in the following (they will be published in abstracts in the awaited *Acta and Memoirs* vols. II and III):

M. F. Burrill (Washington, D.C.), *Generic Terms in United States Hydronyms.*

D. J. Georgacas (Grand Forks, N. Dak.), *The Post-Classical Names Designating the Peninsula of the Peloponnesus*

E. Pulgram (Ann Arbor, Mich.), *Individual Name, Class Name, Common Noun*

A. Senn (Philadelphia), *Today's State of the Investigation of Lithuanian Hydronymics and of Place Names Derived from Them* (in German)

E. C. Smith (Evanston, Ill.), *Smith Compound Names*

J. B. Rudnyćkyj (Winnipeg), *Anthroponymic Changes in Canada and the United States of America*

On the lectures of Corominas and Whatmough see above.

The text of the seven lectures have appeared as the first volume of the *Acta and Memoirs* and the summaries of the papers are to appear in a second and third volume, as said above.

In the final session (Thursday, August 28), the Secretary General of the International Committee of Onomastic Sciences, Professor H. J. Van de Wijer, spoke. Among the onomatologists who had died between the 5th and 6th congresses two Americans were mentioned, H. L. Mencken (1956) and Levette Jay Davidson (1957) (on the

latter cf. E. C. Smith in *Onoma* 7, 2, p. 361f). He reported also that the onomastic bibliography of 40 countries in the journal ONOMA, started in 1951, will be continued. He announced the election of new representatives for some countries, among them D. J. Georgacas (United States) for Greek Onomastics. Professor Albert Carnoy (Louvain, Belgium) was elected honorary president. The 7th congress was set for Florence, Italy, 1961. Resolutions were unanimously passed and their text is given below.

Hospitality, entertainment, and many courtesies available to the participants made the occasion of the 6th congress a memorable one for all members who came from all over the world and gathered in Munich.

THE RESOLUTIONS

The twelve important resolutions prepared by the Committee and passed by the General Assembly of the Congress are printed herewith because American onomatologists may not have access to them otherwise. Copies of the original texts of these resolutions were, on my request, promptly sent to me by Prof. H. J. Van de Wijer, to whom I wish to express my thanks.

1. Proposed by Prof. G. Rohlfs (Munich).

The scholars gathered in the 6th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences present to the educational administrations of all countries the urgent request to provide in their academic instruction for a chair or lectureship of onomastics, a place that is due to it as an important discipline, especially in conjunction with linguistics, history, and study of the country (Landeskunde). [Translated from German.]

2. Proposed by Messrs. A. Pégorier (Paris) and A. Favarger (Bern).

Owing to the interest which a closer contact between cartographers and toponymists would offer, it appears to us necessary to provide in a future congress for the creation of a section of cartographic toponymy. [Transl. from French.]

3. Proposed by Prof. L. Steinberger (Munich) and Prof. K. Puchner (Munich).

The Congress expresses to the Bavarian State Government and to the University of Munich the request that an Institute for Onomastics be founded at the University of Munich. [Transl. from German.]

4. Proposed by Prof. G. Rohlfs (Munich), 2nd section (Hydronymy).

Considering the interest which the names of rivers and streams can have for solving the mystery of the periods long past in the history of mankind, the second section expresses the request that the universities and scholarly academies of each country favor the creation of dictionaries in which the names of the watercourses will be collected completely and treated with the greatest historical documentation possible. [Transl. from French.]

5. Proposed by the 3rd section (Germanic Onomastics).

In connection with the communication of Prof. Pressler, the 3rd section expresses the wish that the establishment of a permanent working Committee be considered for the investigation of names of countries and peoples on an international basis. The importance which is due to such names in the field of onomastics would seem to justify the proposed undertaking. [Transl. from German.]

6. Proposed by the 6th Section (Romance Onomastics)

Following the paper on the Names of fields in France, presented by Mr. André Pégorier, the 6th Section expresses the wish that catalogues of regional names given to the soil according to its agricultural qualities, supplying especially the dialectal forms, be made in all countries adhering to the International Centre of Onomastics. [Transl. from French.]

7. Proposed by Prof. E. Vetter (Vienna), 8th Section (Greek, Italic, and Balkan Onomastics).

The 8th Section proposes that the Congress request of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft financial assistance for the preparation of Indices to the existing volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, i.e. alphabetic lists of all inscriptionally transmitted Etruscan proper names. [Transl. from German.]

8. Proposed by the 9th Section (Non-Indo-European Onomastics).

It is requested that, in future congresses, Turkish toponymy and anthroponymy be made into a separate section. [Summarized from the German original.]

9. Proposed by the 10th Section (International Standardization of Geographic Names).

The 6th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences underlines the urgency of Standardization and Unification of Geographic Names for international purposes.

A prerequisite for the solution of this problem is the existence of official authorities in each country for settling the national writing of names. The fixing of the national writing of names is declared the necessary first step for the international unification of the geographic writing of names.

It is recommended that the international writing of names rest on the national writing forms which the country concerned has itself accepted.

The diacritic signs that appear in the languages with Latin alphabets should, in the international name spelling, not be omitted on principle.

The national boards of all Latin writing countries should join in a commission to work out transcription and transliteration keys for the individual non-Latin-writing linguistic areas.

Where a transcription and transliteration system into the Latin writing is officially recognized and introduced by a non-Latin-writing country, this should be as much as possible taken into consideration by the other countries of the same writing area and, insofar as this system is acceptable for Latin writing systems, be recognized for the international writing of names.

The 6th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences has taken note of the "Draft Program for Achieving International Uniformity in the Writing of Geographic Names," submitted by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Organization and agrees with it. The 6th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences sees in it a practicable way and recommends that the International Centre of Onomastic Sciences cooperate with the Economic and Social Council of the U.N.O. as the appropriate central institution for the international standardization in the writing of geographic names. [Transl. from German.]

10. Proposed by the 10th Section (Subcommission for Africa south of the Sahara).

The Subcommission proposes that the International Centre of Onomastic Sciences take note of the Memorandum of the Subcommission for Africa south of the Sahara; agrees with the principles set out in it; notes that the draft program for international standardization circulated by ECOSOC envisages regional conferences; proposes that the Memorandum be brought to the attention of such standardization conferences as deal with Africa south of the Sahara; suggests that the governments and technical services responsible might be invited to elaborate a practical program within the framework of the principles of standardization defined in the Memorandum.

11. Proposed by the 10th Section (Cyrillic Subcommission).

The Subcommission considers a unification of the rendering of proper names, especially of geographic names, necessary. The Subcommission intercedes in favor of a transliteration (not transcription) of the Cyrillic orthography. Hereby the unified, linguistic transliteration should be taken as a basis. [Transl. from German.]

12. Proposed by J. B. Rudnyćkyj (Univ. of Manitoba).

The 6th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences recommends that overlapping or duplication of the titles of onomastic periodicals and journals be avoided.

Demetrius J. Georgacas

For Onomatologists Only

With this issue we are instituting a column addressed especially to *ANS* members in which we propose to discuss various items of interest to our group. We will include here significant information on the professional activities of our members — such as the publication of books and articles on names in other journals and the reading of onomatological papers before other societies — and such related news. (Popular items, such as brief notes and stories about names, will be printed elsewhere.) The emphasis in this column, then, will be on professional matters of some personal importance to the members of our Society. Contributions of this type will be gratefully received by E. Wallace McMullen, Associate Editor, Department of English, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

ONOMASTIC QUIZ

Mr. Elsdon C. Smith contributed an article to the January 17, 1960, edition of *Parade Magazine* (p. 11; published with the Lincoln, Nebraska, *Sunday Journal and Star*) entitled "What Do Their Names Mean?" in which the public was challenged to match "words or phrases of origin" with the last names of twelve famous people who also were identified by photograph. The members of this select group were Dwight D. Eisenhower (German: saber-blade — an iron-hewer capable of shearing an iron nail); Helen Hayes (English: hedge-keeper); Yogi Berra (Italian: hut-dweller); Eleanor Roosevelt (Dutch: field of roses — one who lived by a *veld* of roses); Maria Callas (Greek: beautiful); Billy Graham (English-Scottish: gravel homestead); Debbie Reynolds (English: mighty power — an early form of Reginald); Nikita Krushchev (Russian: beetle); Bernard Baruch (Hebrew: blessed); Grace Kelly (Irish: trouble); Admiral Hyman Rickover (German: mighty stream — from/ Reichau); and Arthur Godfrey (English: God's peace — the Norman form of the Old German Godafrid).

GAFFNEY'S LAW

Several newspapers throughout the United States—including Albuquerque, Omaha and San Francisco journals — carried stories about

Professor Gaffney's theory of names which he presented in his paper, "A Potential Influence of Given Names on Character and Occupation," at the last annual *ANS* meeting in Chicago. Miss Mamie Meredith writes that Gaffney's paper was printed on the editorial page of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of January 10, 1960, "only slightly abridged, with *ANS* mentioned prominently in the 3-line overhead. As illustrations, small pictures of a soldier with cap and a student in mortar board were used."

The December 30, 1959, issue of the *Chicago Sun-Times* put the story and a picture of Mr. Gaffney on the front page. Included in the fairly long summary is a statement of "Gaffney's first law of nomenclature," namely: "Your career is determined by your character and your character is determined perhaps unalterably by the name under which you grew to adulthood." Or stated more simply: "You are what your name has made you."

Professor Gaffney bases his theory on a forty-year analysis of thousands of names on U.S. Army rosters and on faculty listings in college catalogues. For example, he reported that among military officers there is a high proportion of terse, he-man names like Jack, Harry, Ned or Sam, all of which are complete given names, not shortened forms. College athletic coaches bear names like Don, Peter, and Lew. On the other hand, the majority of college faculty members have fancier names such as Grove Ettinger, Rizpah Anna Sherlock Bronson, Lucius Adelno, Guy Redvers, and Fadra Homes. During the discussion which followed the reading of this paper Professor Kemp Malone mentioned a bishop named Noble Cilly Powell, and Professor Francis L. Utley observed that the president of Ohio State University is Novice (?) Fawcet. In this instance the theorist is an excellent illustration of his own theory: he is a professor of English at the University of Nebraska, and his name is Wilbur Geoffrey Gaffney.

BIBLE BELT ONOMASTICS

The February, 1960, issue of *The William Feather Magazine* (a monthly magazine in its forty-fourth year of publication, which is sent to "customers, prospects, and friends to let them know that we appreciate their business and goodwill") contains a digest of Thomas Pyles' article, "Bible Belt Onomastics," which was publi-

shed in *Names* (Vol. VII, No. 2, June, 1959). Originally, as *ANS* members will recall, this paper was given as the major address at our 1958 annual banquet meeting in New York.

NAMES OF HURRICANES TO BE STANDARDIZED

According to a UPI dispatch printed in the Lincoln, Nebraska, *Evening Journal* (January 29, 1960, p. 1614), the United States Weather Bureau has decided to standardize the names of hurricanes. Instead of digging up a brand new list of not previously used girls' names for the tropical storms each season, they are compiling four alphabetical sets of twenty-one names each of which should serve, with minor modifications, from this year on. At the end of every four years, they'll just start over.

ANS readers will recall Erwin G. Gudde's article, "Naming Storms," which appeared in *Names* (Vol. III, No. 1, March, 1955). As Miss Mamie Meredith points out, this article attracted considerable popular attention.

E. W. M.

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE BREAKFAST MEETING

On December 28, 1959, seven members of the *ANS* Membership Committee and three officers-elect of the Society held a breakfast meeting at the Palmer House in Chicago. Those present were Edward C. Ehrensperger (Chairman), E. Wallace McMullen (Vice-Chairman), Elsdon C. Smith, J. B. Rudnyćkyj, Arthur Minton, Wilbur G. Gaffney, and Walter C. Kraft; also Miss Mamie Meredith, Jack A. Dabbs, and Kelsie B. Harder. Among the items relating to the membership drive which were discussed at this time was a request that Mr. Harder have new invitation forms printed. Mr. Minton was commended for his success in securing library subscriptions in Connecticut. Since there is more general interest in onomastics in Europe than in America, it was suggested that — as a means of attracting new members — we extend to individuals there a 10% lower subscription rate. It was also proposed that we try to reach the great numbers of people in America who are interested in Indian names, possibly through historical societies and archives. The libraries and staff of advertising agencies and encyclopedias which provide research services, were mentioned as good contacts for this purpose. Furthermore, it was thought that high school libraries should be checked for possible subscribers. The Membership Committee felt that new members are the lifeblood of the Society. In other words, the more members we can get, the less need there will be for increasing dues in order to keep up with the growing costs of publishing a journal. (Arrangements for a similar breakfast gathering of this committee at the 1960 meeting in Philadelphia are being made.)

E. W. M.

COMMITTEES 1960

Nominating Committee: Chairman, Thomas Pyles, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida

Audrey Duckert, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts

J. B. Rudnyćkyj, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

Program Committee: Chairman, Jack A Dabbs, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, College Station, Texas

For the summer months: Mamie J. Meredith, 2340 Sumner St., Lincoln 2, Nebraska.

Local Committee in Charge of Arrangements: Chairman, Alfred Senn, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Co-chairman, Ruth L. Pearce, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

Membership Committee: Chairman, Edward C. Ehrensperger, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota

Vice-chairman, E. Wallace McMullen, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

Regional chairmen.

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Margaret M. Bryant, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York

Audrey Duckert (as listed above).

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THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE *A.N.S.* at Philadelphia, December 1960 and invitation of papers

The annual meeting of the American Name Society will take place at Philadelphia, Penna. in December 1960 in conjunction with the Modern Language Association.

Program chairman is Professor Jack A. Dabbs, Second Vice-President, Dept. of Modern Languages, A and M College of Texas,

College Station, Texas. Anyone wishing to read a paper on the program next December should write to Mr. Dabbs as soon as possible or, during the summer months of 1960, to his substitute, Professor Mamie J. Meredith, 2340 Sumner Street, Lincoln 2, Neb.

The program must be ready for the printer by September, so that it may be included in the Announcement of the modern Language Association program.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP is to be established for members who prefer it and for those who wish to support the Society. The life membership dues are $100.00, from which are deducted the dues of the last five years, so it is actually $75.00 for old members. Professor Kemp Malone, Professor Mamie Meredith, and Professor Demetrius J. Georgacas have already requested the status of life member. Please contact the Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Kelsie B. Harder, Youngstown University, Youngstown, Ohio.

ANS and *ACLS*

G. M. GOETHE of Sacramento, Calif., an outstanding member of the American Name Society, offered the amount of $50.00 toward the fund necessary for the Society's joining the American Council of Learned Societies. Professor Mamie J. Meredith, First Vice-President, has offered $10.00 for the same cause. The annual contribution of our society to the treasury of the Council will be $35.00. We need the sum of $70.00 to cover the dues for two years. We now have $60. Any Maecenas following Mr. Goethe's example will help a good cause. The advantages for the Society in joining the Council are too obvious to need elaboration.

ANS ONOMASTIC COLLECTION

Members and others wishing to contribute to the *ANS* Onomastic Collection may send their gifts to the Secretary, Professor Kelsie B. Harder, who will appreciate receiving reprints, books, and other material concerning names and pertaining to members of the Society. Youngstown University is providing space for the archives of the American Name Society. The suggestion for the establishment of such a collection came from the Vice-President, Professor Mamie J. Meredith.

BACK COPIES OF *NAMES* WANTED AND SOLD

The Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Kelsie B. Harder, appeals to members of the Society who can dispose of back issues of *Names* to contact him concerning selling them to the Society in order to make it possible for him to sell complete sets of the journal to libraries and institutes. There is plenty of copies of volumes I, II, III, and IV as well as of volumes VI, 3 and 4, and VII, for sale. Please write to

Kelsie B. Harder, Secretary-Treasurer

American Name Society
Youngstown University
Youngstown, Ohio

GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS

The University of Pittsburgh has received $12,000,000 from the Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, part of which will be used to support fifty predoctoral and six to nine postdoctoral fellowships in the humanities and other fields. Predoctoral fellowships will range from $2,700 to $3,700 each. Postdoctoral fellowships will be worth $6,000 each, with supplements for dependents, travel, and incidental costs of research. Possibly *ANS* members can qualify for these grants. Anyone interested should write to the Dean of the Graduate Faculty, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh 13, Pa.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CANADIAN BOARD ON GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

According to a release of the Department of Mines and Technical Surveys of March 4, 1960, representatives from each of the participating provinces attended the annual meeting of the Canadian Board on Geographical Names in Ottawa. Dr. N. L. Nicholson, Director of the Geographical Branch of the Department, was re-elected chairman of the Board and Mr. E. D. Baldock, the Department's Chief Cartographer, was elected vice chairman. G. M. Munroe, secretary, reported that the Board had processed some 19,000 names for 126 new maps, 18 new hydrographic charts, and 9 revised maps; he also noted that the Prince Edward Island gazetteer will be published shortly and that the gazetteers for Nova Scotia and Ontario are under way. The Hon. Paul Comtois, Minister of Mines and Technical Surveys, paid tribute to the work of the Board and spoke of the two broad problems with which they are faced: that of obtaining satisfactory new names for features, hitherto unnamed, in areas of Canada recently opened up, and, in southern Canada, the need for changing names in response to local conditions, with the changes in population composition, the expansion of urban areas, and the depopulation of some rural areas. A suggestion award and certificate were presented to Mr. G. M. Munroe by Dr. Marc Boyer, Deputy Minister of Mines and Technical Surveys, for his development of a much more economic and efficient method of producing gazetteers.

ANS MEMBERS DECEASED

The following members died in 1959:

Anson S. Blake, 70 Rincon Rd., Berkeley 7, Calif.

John Louis Haney, 6419 Woodpine Ave., Philadelphia 31, Pa. († Dec. 28, 1959)

Lee F. Hawley, 1 Landon St., Madison 3, Wisconsin († Aug. 1959)

John S. Kenyon, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio († Sept. 1959)

M. R. Manolatos, 5025 W. Monroe St., Chicago 44, Ill. († June 28, 1959)

Walter Yust, Editor, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 425 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago 11, Ill. († Feb. 29, 1960)

Mr. Kenyon was one of the most distinguished of American linguistic scholars. He was the author (among other works) of *American Pronunciation* (10th edition, 1950), and, in collaboration with Thomas A. Knott, wrote *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English* (1949). He was also Consulting Editor and author of the "Guide to Pronunciation" in the second edition of *Webster's New International Dictionary.*

Mr. Manolatos was one of the early members of the Society and his family will continue the membership in his name.

Mr. Yust, former newspaperman and editor-in-chief of all Encyclopaedia Britannica publications (1938—Feb. 1960), died in Evanston, Ill. He was advertising manager of Encyclopaedia Britannica 1930—1932 and associate editor 1932—1938. Earlier he had served as literary editor of the Philadelphia Public Ledger. He had been one of the sustaining members of the *ANS* and had indicated his intention to become a life member.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR 1959

Income:

Membership dues collected	$3038.00
Sale of copies of NAMES	142.00
Sale of Pulgram pamphlet	1.00
Sale of Sealock & Seely bibliography	.30
Contributions	16.05
Bank interest and exchange rate	26.94
	$3224.29
Balance carried forward from 1958	2379.58
	$5603.87

Expenditures:

Printing of NAMES	$2000.00
Editorial office (mailing, supplies, misc. printing)	442.36
Exec. Secretary-Treasurer's office (mailing, supplies, misc. printing)	85.17
1958 election expenses and questionnaire	12.70
Bank charges and Corporation fee	8.40
Promotion expenses	4.69
Refund on order	3.75
	$2557.07
Cash on hand, December 31, 1959	3046.80
	$5603.87

Respectfully submitted

Fritz L. Kramer

Treasurer

December 31, 1959.

American Name Society

MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTION ROSTER (April 1, 1960)

Members and subscribers who have not paid the dues for 1960 are urgently requested to do so immediately in order to insure the uninterrupted delivery of *Names*.

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Indian Place Names in South America and the Antilles. I.

NILS M. HOLMER

PHONETIC SYMBOLS

The Indian languages, as a rule, have no official, nor even generally accepted, orthography, although those in which a literature exists make use of a more or less normalized system of writing the words. This holds for the Peruvian language, Kechua, as well as for Guarani, the native language most widely spoken in Brazil and Paraguay, which also are the two largest and most important linguistic units in South America. The current mode of spelling in the former language is, however, highly inaccurate and inconsistent; for Guarani — owing to the efforts of those Paraguayans and Brazilians who cultivate the language — the orthography is already beginning to assume an even scientifically satisfactory aspect.

In the odd cases in which we give the native forms of the names dealt with in this study of the Indian toponymy in South America, we shall adopt the following norms:

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* have the value of the corresponding signs in Spanish (or Italian). The inverted *e* (*ə*) is occasionally used to represent the unstressed vowel in the English word 'real'; in Guarani words we employ — according to the usage now generally adopted — the vowel sign *y* to express a sound which comes close to the preceding one (from which, in certain cases, it may actually have been derived), although it is sometimes said to equal the Russian vowel commonly transliterated by the vowel sign *y*. The *tilde* (~) over a vowel sign marks nasalization. By an accent mark (′) after a vowel main stress is indicated when necessary and by an inverted period (·), vowel length. — Notice that *o* and *u* are indistinguishable in a great number of Indian languages, notably in Kechua.

The consonant symbols which require a special explanation are: *ć* and *ś*, by which we denote the English 'ch' and 'sh' sounds, respectively, especially in transcribing Kechua words (for other languages the international *š* has occasionally been used for *ś*), further *l′*, which corresponds to Spanish *ll*, and *ń*, equaling Spanish

ñ; *j*, which in Guarani words denotes the common South American variant of consonantic '*y*,' that is between the initial sound in English 'yes' and Portuguese *jantar* (in Paraguay it often approaches the English consonant sound in the word 'judge'); *ñ* — also in Guarani words — equals the corresponding sound in Spanish *señor*. while *x* is the now rather generally accepted symbol expressing the English *sh*-sound; *q* (chiefly in Kechua words) represents a very back *k*-sound; by *ŋ* is meant the final consonant in English 'sing,' etc. In Kechua words we use the apostrophe (') and the inverted apostrophe (ʿ) to denote sounds typical of this language, the former representing the "glottal stop," the latter a strong aspiration. The letters *w* and *y* (except in the case mentioned above, in which *y* is a vowel) are used for the initial semivowels in the English words 'water' and 'year,' respectively. By an asterisk (*) reconstructed forms are indicated.

INDIAN PLACE NAMES IN SOUTH AMERICA AND THE ANTILLES

A glance at the map of South America gives at hand that about half of the names marked — much depending on the type of map we have before us, whether a large or small-scale map, a physical, political, commercial or merely a road or communications map — are of European, Spanish or Portuguese, origin and that the other half represents a most varied sampling of exotic names, of which many give us the impression of being more or less corrupted forms of an aboriginal nomenclature. The motleyed character of the Indian place names in South America is not to be accounted for by corruption only (as we know, the majority of the place names are spelled in the Spanish way, though part of them -- namely those in Brazil — are written according to the Portuguese orthography), but, moreover, by the fact that the languages from which they are derived are overwhelming in number and besides exceedingly heterogeneous: in the first (and best) edition of *Les langues du monde* by Meillet and Cohen the number of linguistic families in South America and the Antilles is given as seventy-seven, the number of languages being considerably larger.[1] We may say, on the whole, that the native

[1] Paris, 1924; the section on South America and the Antilles (*op.cit.*, pp. 639 to 707) is by the late Professor Paul Rivet.

nomenclature is retained to a much larger extent in South America than in North America. Partly owing to the fact that the Indian tribes are still more numerous than in the northern continent, some of them have attained a semi-official status (as in Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay) and at least in one case (that of Chile) we can notice a successful fusion of native and European elements, in so far as the strong and intelligent Araucanian race has in some measure contributed in a favorable way toward the forming of the Chilean nation. Among historically important South American peoples we have to single out in the first place the Kechua — founders of the Inca Empire — whose one-time cultural domination in the Andean region and far beyond has left unmistakable vestiges in the toponymy. In the interior of the continent, into which the Europeans penetrated by degrees only, the Indian names, especially those of rivers and mountains, prevail, being easily recognized as of Chibchan, Caribbean, Arawak or Guarani provenience, although, as we shall see further along, in some cases strangely modified so as to suggest a Spanish or Portuguese origin ("Pocopoco," a place in Bolivia, "Paragua," "Rio Paratudo" — the latter recalling a Brazilian-Portuguese plant name). Some of these names (e.g., "Gatico" and "Cobija," places just north of Antofagasta in Chile; there is another Cobija in Bolivia) may possibly be translations of Indian names; "Jericoacoara" — now officially spelled Jericoaquara or Jeriquaquara —, the name of a small place and point on the Atlantic coast of Brazil (Ceará), although suggesting a place in Palestine, is of Guarani origin; "Samborombón" (the name of a river and bay in the province of Buenos Aires), in which the first syllable might suggest the name of some forgotten saint, is no doubt of native origin, although the tribe of Indians which first named the river cannot now be identified.

Although the number of native languages still spoken in South America is surprisingly large and names may be found on the map which are derived from most of these languages, we notice, however, that many of the names fall into definite phonetic patterns: as a matter of fact, we soon become aware of the circumstance that the majority of native names in South America are either of Kechua type (names derived from Aymara, for instance, are generally difficult to distinguish from Kechua names), namely in the western part of the continent, or else of Guarani type, chiefly in the eastern parts.

Names pertaining to either of these two types show an immense expansion; roughly speaking, they cover the whole area to the south of the equator as far as the thirty-fifth latitudinal degree, the division between the areas dominated by either type running very approximately along the eastern slopes of the Andes.[2] In this connection we do not, of course, consider such names as an Ayacucho found in the province of Buenos Aires (Argentina), which strikingly resembles the Peruvian Ayacucho, with which it can have nothing to do (probably the name was imported or else corrupted from a designation in one of the Pampean languages). Even names of Basque origin are found in all parts of South America, presenting a most puzzling aspect to those who are not specialists (e.g. Necochea, an important seaport and sea resort in the province of Buenos Aires; incidentally, there is another place of that name in the Argentinian province of Cordoba); such names witness the penetration of Basque settlements in South America and of a cultural influence matched only by that of the Celts in North America, where so many Mackenzies, etc. — commemorating and immortalizing early Scottish settlers and travelers — are still found in the official place nomenclature.

North of the equator, as far as the Central American border and including the Antilles, we find a more heterogeneous toponymy, in which, however, Arawak and Caribbean elements prevail, with slight admixture of Chibchan names in the northwest (especially Colombia). In the southern part of the continent the names are also of various origins; yet many along the Pacific coast pertain to the language of the great Araucanian nation and some few, no

[2] Of important Kechua names the northernmost one would perhaps be the mountain name Cotacachi (some fifty miles north of Quito) or even Lago Cocha in southern Colombia, the southernmost one possibly Uspallata, the name of a mountain and place on the same latitude as Valparaiso in Chile, whereas the easternmost name of indubitable Kechua origin would be Atamisqui, a place in the Argentinian province of Santiago del Estero (and not so far from Tucumán). In the eastern half of the continent, we find typical Guarani forms such as Urubuquara as the name of a river and marsh near the estuary of the Amazon river and somewhat to the north of the Equator, or river names such as Curuapanema, Cuminapanema, whereas the southernmost Guarani names are to be looked for in Uruguay (itself a name of Guarani origin) or Entre Ríos in Argentina (Ibicuy is a place at the very delta formed by the Paraná river). Just at the foot of the Andes, there are river names such as Jurua mirim and in southeastern Colombia (Amazonas), such as Cara Paraná and Igara Paraná, which show the westward advance of the Guarani nations.

doubt, of those in the interior and along the eastern coast, to the language of another, although less important group of Indians, *viz.* the Tehuelche (or Patagonians; incidentally, no Tehuelche names are dealt with in this study).

It is unquestionable that the names given by the Indians to rivers, mountains, lakes, forests and plains, etc., are very monotonous in regard to their signification (especially if we are to translate them into English or Spanish).[3] Here the same tendencies prevail as we find in North America or, in fact, in every part of the world (Europe not being an exception), namely that those designations which correspond to our geographical names do not vary to the same extent as do the latter, owing to the fact that the Indians (like people in general in the early stages) have not as yet developed any sense of geographical names, neither have they any need for them.[4] Communications certainly did not, in any part, flourish to such an extent as to require an exact identification of places far away. In our days of regular traffic by land, water and air we could no longer imagine a state of things where any place we wanted to go to, any airport for instance, did not carry an official designation which would preclude any mistakes or vagueness as to our destination. To the Indians, however, accustomed to traveling along a certain river or its tributaries (for fishing) or ascending certain mountains (for hunting), it was in fact more important to state whether he was on the one business or the other, on his own river or on his own mountain slope; the particular river or mountain would be known to anyone. As far as other rivers went, he was simply not concerned with them, unless on the warpath; another river was most likely the property of another tribe with which he had no normal intercourse. So what he spoke of was "the river," "the mountain," "the village," "the wooded plain" (the *chaco*, which also means the 'hunting'), etc., with the important difference from the above simplified conditions, however, that by the various native designations the nature of the localities were described much more in detail, by special terms which abound in the languages of these peoples, who lived in far closer contact with nature. Translating all

[3] Many Spanish and Portuguese names in South America are no doubt translations from the Indian languages: a "Río Tigre," for instance, closely corresponds to a "Yaguary" or "Jaguari," etc. Cf. further along.

[4] Cf. the author's *Indian Place Names in North America*, p. 11 (*et passim*).

kinds of "waters" or "rivers" — very different to the Indians — by just 'river' or all kinds of "mountains," "forests" or "boglands" by just 'mountain,' etc. we would get designations of the type 'the river' or — in case tributaries were frequented — 'the big river,' 'the (very) mountain,' etc. To the Indians these names were appellatives, or common nouns; we are inclined to understand them as place names and to make them, in the course of time, into official geographical names.[5]

The natural consequence of this state of things would be that an immense number of names, at least if translated into one language, would be the same: 'the Big River,' 'Tiger Mountain,' etc., etc., but the Indian languages and dialects are, as we have seen, very different; the situation is more or less the same as the one we find in Australasia, where we may come across such names as Anuda (Anouda or Cherry Island, to the northeast of the New Hebrides), Yanutha (in the Fiji group), Yanuta (a small island of San Cristóbal) or *Anute*, a native name of the island of Florida (both in the Solomon Islands group), all of which are essentially the same as the Javanese or Malay word *nusa* (*nuswa*, *nungsa*) 'island,' or the one we find in the case of the innumerable Newtowns (Newtons), Neuvilles, Villanovas (Villa Novas), etc. in Europe, which simply mean 'the new town.' True enough, the river names Paraná, Pará, Paragua, etc., are quite numerous in South America (cf. below) they are mostly derived from the Guarani dialects and originally designate the idea of 'river' or 'sea' (*para* means 'sea' in Guarani and *parana* — evidently from the same stem — has a similar meaning in Carib).[6]

If the outward monotony of the place nomenclature is somewhat scattered and disguised through the variety of language, it none the less reappears in the translation of the names into English. We must, however, once more draw the reader's attention to the fact that the exact translation of Indian names (or in many cases even

[5] Cf. as to this the author's *Indian Place Names in North America*, pp. 14, 15, and elsewhere.

[6] The Amerindian word stem (originally **pala*) is used in many South American languages to design 'non-potable water'; in Kechua, where it has the form *para*, it means 'rain.' The explanation of *parana* as a Guarani derivative meaning 'kin of the sea' (cf. Tupi *se anama* 'my kin or relatives,' etc.) is certainly erroneous; in the Tupian dialects, e.g., Tembe, the word *parana* is current in the sense of 'sea' (that is, as in Carib).

of common words) is a difficult undertaking and, as far as those names go on which we shall comment below, at best approximate.

Among the 'big rivers' (or 'big waters'), apart from the Rio Grandes,[7] which in many cases no doubt represent a translation of a native name,[8] we may mention the following ones: Paraguaçu (in the state of Bahia, Brazil),[9] (probably) Paranayuba (a tributary of the Xingu, in the state of Mato Grosso), Iguassú (in Spanish Iguazú and in Portuguese now Iguaçu, a tributary of the Paraná and part boundary between Argentina and Brazil, forming the famous waterfall of the same name near its entry into the Paraná); here we might also mention the Rio Açu ('the big river' in Tupi), the name of the lower course of the Rio das Piranhas in the state of Rio Grande do Norte (which evidently derives its name from the same river), in this case representing a mixture of Portuguese and Tupi.

In the western part of South America, that is along the Pacific coast and especially within the area where once the Kechua civilization prevailed, this form of toponymy does not seem to be the rule; at any rate, we have no 'big rivers or waters' of importance here.[10] As a matter of fact, the names in these parts seem to be of a different type in many respects and one suggesting a greater variation. It appears that there existed in the Inca Empire a more evolved sense of the importance of place names. The place names are typically compounds, recalling those we find in Oceania, with the

[7] The *Times Gazetteer of the World* registers three only from South America, but the number is actually much larger.

[8] One Río Grande (a tributary of the Mamoré in Bolivia) is also called Guapay, in a language we cannot identify, and the names Altos de Paraná and Morro do Pará (of which the former is that of a mountain range above the San Francisco river in the state of Bahia, Brazil) let us suspect that the San Francisco river was at one time known by the Indians as the 'Pará' or 'Paraná' ('the river or sea'); also notice that Paramirim ('little Pará') is the name of one of the tributaries of the San Francisco in the state of Bahia. – Since this note was written, the author has found his guess confirmed: the San Francisco was actually earlier designated by the Portuguese name *O Pará* ('the Pará').

[9] According to tradition this was also the name of the daughter of a Tupinamba chief, married to a Portuguese, Diogo Álvares Correia, whom the Indians nicknamed *Caramuru*, which also is the name of a known poem by the Brazilian Santa Rita Durão.

[10] Unless Lebu, a river and coastal place south of La Concepción in Chile, represents – which is quite likely – the Araucanian *leufu* 'river.' We might also mention Lago Cocha, the name of a small lake near Pasto in southern Colombia, which is simply the Kechua *kocha* 'lake.'

reservation that the Kechua name often has the determinative element (if a noun) *before* the determined part (as in English 'Ashdown,' etc., as against the Celtic 'Ben-more,' etc., which latter represents the type prevailing in Oceania). The same order of the elements as in Kechua is found in the names of Araucanian origin.

In the whole of eastern South America – chiefly Brazil —, where names of Guarani type prevail, we have (as mentioned by way of introduction) an immense number of river names containing the element *para-* or *parana-*, of which the meaning — from our point of view — is more or less the same in each case.[11] The following enumeration will give an idea as to their distribution: Pará (the name of the estuary of the Tocantins and also formerly the name of Belém, the capital of the Brazilian state of Pará); Pará (a place on a small river in the Brazilian state of Santa Catarina); Paraná (a river in Venezuela and an affluent of the Caroni); Paraná (a tributary of the Tocantins in the Brazilian state of Goiás); Paraná (one of the largest and most majestic rivers in South America, further the name of a city on the same river, the capital of the Argentinian province of Entre Ríos, and finally the name of a state in Brazil); Paragua (the name of a river in Venezuela and of a tributary of the Guaporé in Bolivia); Parnaguá (the name of a lake or lagoon and of a city in the Brazilian state of Piauí); Paranaguá (one of the largest and most beautiful bays in Brazil, in the state of Paraná); Parahyba (Paraíba; the name of various rivers in Brazil, for instance one in Pernambuco and Alagoas and of another one, the Paraíba do Norte, in the state of the same name); Paraíba do Sul (a river in the state of Rio de Janeiro); Parnahyba (Parnaíba; the river which separates the Brazilian states of Maranhão and Piauí); Paranahyba (Paranaíba; a tributary of the Paraná and boundary between the Brazilian states of Goiás, Minas Gerais and Mato Grosso); Paraguana (a river in Venezuela); Paramaribo (a city on the coast and on the Surinam, in Dutch Guiana); Paraná-Pixuna ('Black River,' an affluent of the Purus and the name of a place on that river, in Amazonas, Brazil; the Tapajoz is also so called by the Indians); Paratari (the name of a river, lake and island in Amazonas, Brazil); Paravari (a small river in the Amazon basin, state of Amazonas, Brazil); Paranatinga ('White River,' an upper tributary of the Tapajoz, in Mato

[11] Hence the Peruvian river name Paranapura, an affluent of the Huallaga, undoubtedly has a different origin.

Grosso, Brazil; cf. Paratinga 'White Pará,' a city in the state of Bahia, Brazil); Paraim (perhaps = 'little sea'; one of the upper tributaries of the Parnahyba, in the state of Piauí, Brazil); Paracatu ('the good river'; an affluent of the San Francisco river, in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil); Paraopeba (the name of two rivers in Minas Gerais, Brazil); Paraúna (a small river in Minas Gerais and of another one in Sergipe as well as the name of a city in Goiás, Brazil); Parati (a sugarcane-growing city in the state of Rio de Janeiro, on the coast and on the Perequeguaçu river); Paranapanema (a tributary of the Paraná in the state of São Paulo and boundary between this state and that of Paraná, Brazil; for the meaning of the final element *-panema*, cf. further on); Paracanjuba (a small river in southern Goiás, Brazil); Parapití or Parapetí (a river without an outlet in Bolivia).[12] It is quite probable that the name Pernambuco should be considered as containing a variant of the element *parna-* (as in Parnahyba, etc.); this name is one of the oldest ones in Brazil and has evidently undergone certain corruptions (even the meaning of the final element remains obscure; *paranambuku* 'long river'?).

Among these also, of course, figures the Paraguay, the important tributary of the Paraná, from which also the republic of Paraguay derives its name.[13] In some of these names the element *parana* occurs as final component of the name: Piraparaná ('fish river'), Igaraparaná ('boat river'), Miritiparaná, Avatiparaná ('corn river'), Urucuparaná (from *uruku*, a plant yielding a red dye), Jaciparaná ('moon river'? or rather of a certain palm tree called *jaci* in Brazilian Portuguese, that is, Guarani *jasy* 'moon'), Mutumparaná (from *mutum* — the Portuguese form — meaning a gallinaceous bird, of which some have a peculiar ventriloquial call), — all rivers in Amazonas and Mato Grosso, Brazil, and finally Jiparaná (Giparaná or Ginaparaná), which is a river in the territory of Guaporé. If smaller, or tributaries of a larger river, they often end in *-mirim*

[12] It is, however, somewhat doubtful whether this name is analogous to those above; the tribes living in these parts are the Zamuko and the Chane, which latter are supposed to be Arawak, although the Guarani influence is said to be noticeable even here.

[13] For an explanation of the name, see further below. Originally, no doubt, it was the name of the river; the meaning simply seems to be 'the water or river of Paragua.' Cf. Note 26.

(a diminutive suffix, 'little'), as in: Paramirim (a tributary of the San Francisco river and having the same meaning as Parasinho, the name of a small bay on the coast in the state of Ceará); other such names are: Juruamirim ('little Jurua,' in Amazonas, Brazil); Mamoriàmirim ('little Mamoriá,' in the same state, where we also find a Rio Mamoriá Grande; both are tributaries of the Purus); Canumamirim ('little Canumã,' in Amazonas, Brazil); Juinamirim ('little Juina,' in Mato Grosso, Brazil); Itapucurumirim ('little Itapucuru,' the name of a city in Maranhão, Brazil); Itapemirim ('little Itapé,' a river in Espírito Santo, Brazil); Mogi-Mirim (a coffee-growing city in the state of São Paulo, Brazil, where we also find another smaller place called Mogi-Guaçu 'Big Mogi'; both are originally river names); the form is *-miri* in Igarapé-Miri (also -Mirim; now a city in Pará, Brazil) and in Araguaymirí (an affluent of the Paraguay, in the Argentinian territory of Formosa; within the republic of Paraguay we find the Río Araguay Guazú or 'big Araguay *or* swordfish river'). In the same way as we find Rio Açu (see above), we come across other mongrel names of the type Lagoa Mirim ('little lagoon,' in the state of Rio Grande do Sul), Cayapòzinho (Cayapòsinho, 'little Cayapó river,' in the Brazilian state of Goiás, where there is also a Cayapó Grande), Yavarí Chico ('little Yavarí,' a Peruvian tributary of the Yavarí river, which marks the boundary between Peru and Brazil as far as its entrance into the Amazon); in these latter names the terminations are taken from Portuguese and Spanish, respectively.

Among words for 'water,' 'river' or 'lake,'[14] we notice the Arawak *ɯini* or *uni* (originally **wəni*; this word may also mean 'rain' in some dialects), the Carib *tuna* or *-ku* (*-co*, in compounds) 'water, river' and *parana* 'sea,'[15] the Guarani *y* (in Tupi dialects *hi*, *iga*, etc. and possibly originally **hika*) 'water' and *para* 'sea,' the Kechua *yacu*, *mayu* 'water, river' and *kocha* 'sea, lake,'[16] the Aymara *uma* 'water' and *kota* 'sea, lake' (*mamakota* 'the sea'), the Araucanian *co*

[14] As indicated above the differentiation between these in the Indian languages is rather one of 'potable' and 'non-potable' water; most river names fall in the former category, but some big rivers are designated as 'seas.'

[15] Other designations are: *yari* 'the upper course' (cf. Guarani *ari* 'above'), *keni* 'the lower course' (of a river), *(i)poli* 'creek or inlet' (cf. Ahlbrinck, *Encyclopaedie der Karaïben*, p. 31).

[16] The common appellative *unu* 'water' (used at Cuzco) does not seem to be represented in the toponymy.

and *llacu* (cf. Kechua *yacu* ?) 'water,' *leuvu* (*leufu*) 'river,' *huapi* (for the meaning, cf. below) and *lauquen* (*lavquen*) 'sea, lake' (*futa lauquen* 'big lake' is the name of the 'sea, ocean').[17]

All these are found to have a more or less defined geographical distribution. As we enter South America from the northwest, that is from Central America, we find that the Chibchan *-di* (*-ti*) 'water, river' is gradually superseded by the Choco *-do* (*-to*) in the names of the rivers.[18] Within Colombia is still Acandí, on the Gulf of Urabá, evidently meaning — by analogy with Río Hacha farther east — 'ax river' (referring to stone axes, which were made there).[19] But just opposite, on the Pacific coast, we find the name Juradó and then names of the type Baudó, Quibdó, Docampadó and possibly Atrato,[20] the name of the largest river in that area. The Arawak names are first met with in the Goajira peninsula, which is however almost entirely desert and lacking in rivers and waters of importance. The word for 'sea' in the Goajiro language is *pala·* (pronounced almost *pará*) and similar forms are found in the other Arawak languages of the coastal area as far as Guiana. It is therefore quite possible that some few of the innumerable names in *Para-* found in northeastern South America may be of Arawak origin. With greater certitude we may consider the following river names as having an Arawak origin: the Maroni (written Marawini in 1599 and now in Dutch, Marowijne),[21] which forms the boundary between Dutch and French Guiana; the Commewijne (Kommewijne; in Carib

[17] Other designations, in other languages, are relatively unimportant; the Chibcha *šie* 'water, river' (cf. *šiu* 'lake, rain') does not seem represented among Colombian river names, although there is a small Rio Xié on the Brazilian side of the border (an affluent of the upper Rio Negro).

[18] Cf. Cuna (Panama) *tii* 'water' and Emperá (Choco) *to* (same meaning).

[19] The name, like most of those along the coast as far as Punta de San Blas, in Panama, is originally a river name; cf. S. Henry Wassén, *Contributions to Cuna Ethnography*, pp. 67–76.

[20] The meaning of this name is by no means clear, but the consonant group *-tr-* is typical of the Choco languages. A corruption of an original **Atarrado* (further assimilated to some such Spanish word as *contrato*, *retrato*, etc.), with the meaning 'river of chickens' (some native bird), would be a possible, although not too well supported, guess.

[21] The Caribs who inhabit this territory nowadays call the river *mara'uni*, in which the final element would represent an alternative form of the above-mentioned Arawak *wini* 'water.' Ahlbrinck, however, in his *Encyclopaedie*, thinks the name is Caribbean and provides an etymology (cf., however, *op.cit.*, p. 170, regarding the possible Arawak origin of certain river names in this area).

kama'oni), in Dutch Guiana; the Pacimoni (?), in the Orinoco basin in southern Venezuela, where an Arawak tribe is found; the Caroni (an important tributary of the Orinoco in Venezuela, where however Caribs live now); the Mazuruni and the Siparuni, both in British Guiana (cf. the probably identical Sipaliwini in Surinam); the Tapahoni, in Surinam; the Cuyuní, an affluent of the Essequibo in Venezuela and British Guiana, where also Caribs live now (the banks of this river, rich in gold, once caused a conflict between England and Venezuela, but the meaning of the first element of the river name is quite obscure); the Cuyuwini, another affluent of the Essequibo, in British Guiana, where Arawak Indians still live (the name is evidently identical with the preceding one and perhaps with another Cuiuni in Amazonas, Brazil; *kuyo-* means 'ebbing' in Arawak); Matiwiwini (a place in the territory of Rio Branco, Brazil, where an Arawak population is found); the Rupununi (another affluent of the Essequibo, where a Carib tribe is now living); the Inabini or Inauini, a small affluent of the Rio Purus, in Amazonas, Brazil (*ina* means 'end' in Arawak). It is most uncertain whether the river name Beni (in northern Bolivia) can represent the equivalent of *wini* in some Arawak language (cf. Inabini, above, and a small river Veni in western Amazonas). Unfortunately, we are not able to give a safe translation of the first element in any of the river names now enumerated, as our materials from the corresponding languages are still too scanty and, besides, there is reason to suspect a thorough corruption of the native forms in the case of many of the names quoted.

Of Carib river names we shall quote in the first place those of the Orinoco and the Tamanaco (the latter an affluent of the Unare in Venezuela), which both seem to have the final element *-co* meaning 'water' (in Guiana Carib *-ku*): Orinoco would mean 'clay river' and more probably with reference to the making of pottery (in Carib *orino*);[22] of the latter name we can suggest no translation so far, but

[22] The name Orinoco would, then, perhaps be analogous to that of Urabá in Colombia (cf. S. Henry Wassén, *Some Archaeological Observations from Boquete*, pp. 176, 177). Strange enough, not far from the latter place we find the Choco territory (in Colombia), the present-day home of the Emperá and Waunana tribes, usually called Choco, a word which in Emperá means either a 'pitcher' or a 'barrel.' The Spanish form of the name is accented *chocó* (as generally in words of Indian origin); the name thereby seems different from the current word *choco* 'a small cuttlefish,' 'a dark-skinned person,' etc. – Also Macasseema in British Guiana

the name is undoubtedly Carib as Caribs have been living on its banks long since and the name, besides, is also that of a Caribbean tribe (the initial part of the river name seems to recur in Mt. Tamana, in Trinidad, as well as in the Colombian river name Tamaná) The Guárico and Sinaruco rivers in western Venezuela are, to judge from the termination, also of Carib origin. Of names in *-tuna* ('water, river'), we may especially mention Urichuna (the *-ch-* is due to a palatalization after *-i-*, typical of the Carib languages), the name of a tributary of the Orinoco in Venezuela; the first element (*uri-*) is not unknown in river names in this part of South America (others are found in the Uribante and the Uriman, both in Venezuela), but its meaning in these cases remains unsolved. It seems that the typical river names in *-nam* (*-nami*; as in the Wakenaam, the Coppenaam, the Surinam, the Abounami, — all in British, Dutch and French Guiana), although almost entirely confined to present-day Carib territory, are not of Carib origin.[23]

The Guarani word for 'water' is *y* (variously spelled and pronounced approximately ə — more or less the English vowel sound in 'err,' 'her'); in geographical names it is conventionally spelled *hy*, *y* or *i* (the latter now officially in Brazil). As the final element in river names it is extremely common. Among the rivers so named we find: the Jutaí (Jutahy; a tributary of the Amazon in the state of Amazonas, Brazil);[24] the Itahy, another tributary of the Amazon, in the same state (*ita* means 'rock' in Guarani); the Piraí, the name of various rivers in Brazil, e.g., one in the state of Rio de Janeiro and one in the state of Paraná, where also we find a Piraìsinho or 'little Piraí' (the name evidently means 'fish river'); the Ivaí (Ivahy; in Paraná); the Curauahy (in Amazonas; *kurawa* is the Tupi name of a Brazilian hemp); Apahy (a place on the upper Gurupi, in the state of Pará); the Urussuhy and the Urussuhyassu or 'big Urussuhy,' both tributaries of the Parnahyba in the Brazilian state of Piauí (the initial element apparently means 'bee' in Tupi; there is a similar plant name, *urusukaty*, the Guarani name of a medicinal plant); Piauhy (Piauí), the name of rivers in the state of Piauí in

might be remembered in this context; cf. Carib *maka* 'a big earthenware pot' (see Ahlbrinck, *Encyclopaedie*, pp. 263, 345).

[23] The Caribs call the Surinam *surinama*, the Arawaks of Guiana, *sulinama*.

[24] The name seems quite common; near the Amazon estuary there is a mountain chain called Serra de Jutaí and Jutahy (Jutaí) is the name of a place on the Rio Abacaxis in Amazonas and of an island in the estuary of the Tocantins (Pará).

Brazil - there is also a Serra do Piauí — and in the state of Sergipe (the name recalls Guarani *pyahu* 'new,' hence 'new river'?); the Bambuhy (Bambuí), an affluent of the San Francisco in Minas Gerais (the first part of the name is most certainly from Portuguese and identical with the Brazilian *bambu*, which denotes a native bamboo, the *taquara* or *cana-brava*); Pitanguy, a city in the state of Minas Gerais (the meaning of the name is 'red water,' from Guarani *pytã*, Tupi *pytanga* 'red'); Guaicuhy (a place on the San Francisco river in Minas Gerais); the Curumatahy, a small river in Minas Gerais (cf. the Curumatá, in Piauí, and the Curumbatahy, in Paraná); the Jequetahy (Jequetaí), a river in Minas Gerais (from Guarani *jekyty*, the name of a plant of the soapberry family, from which soap is made); the Pacuhy (there are two different rivers of this name in the state of Minas Gerais; *paku* is the name of various kinds of fresh-water fish found in these rivers, much appreciated for food, but also the name of a euphorbiaceous plant); Andarahy (Andaraí), a place on the Paraguay in the Brazilian state of Bahia; the Arassuahy (Araçuaí), a tributary of the Jequitinhonha, in Minas Gerais; Nictheroy (Nyteroy, now Niterói), the important city opposite Rio de Janeiro, on the Gulf of Guanabara, may possibly be of this type, though the initial part remains unidentified; further, Sahy, Itapacorohy and Itajahy (Itajaí), all coastal places in the state of Santa Catarina, Brazil (Sahy is also the name of a river in Rio de Janeiro); the Cahy (Caí), meaning 'grass *or* maté river,' in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil; Taquari, the name of various rivers, etc., in Brazil, e.g., that of two rivers in the state of Mato Grosso, affluents of the Paraguay (the initial part is the Guarani name of the Brazilian bamboo — cf. above — in Guarani *takuara*); the Jacuhy (Jacuí; 'pheasant river') in Mato Grosso; the Vacacaí, an affluent of the Jacuhy, in Mato Grosso; the Pirangi, a river in Pernambuco and another one in Ceará, Brazil (the name evidently means 'red clay river,' cf. Piranga, 'red clay,' a place in Minas Gerais); the Quegay, an affluent of the Uruguay, in Uruguay (the first element of the name is strange: cf. Guarani *kygua* 'comb' and Tupi *kewa*, Guarani *ky* 'louse'); Ibicuy (Ibicuí), the name of an affluent of the Uruguay in Rio Grande do Sul and further that of a place in the Argentinian province of Entre Ríos (the name no doubt represents Guarani *yvyku'i* 'sand'; as a river name it may mean 'sandy river'); the Gualeguay, a river in Entre Ríos; Acaray,

the name of several rivers, one in Paraguay, one in Argentina — an affluent of the Paraná — and one in Minas Gerais, Brazil (Tupi *akara* is the name of a river flatfish); Jatahy (Jataí), the name of a place in Paraná and of another one in Goiás, Brazil (cf. Guarani *jata* or *jatai*, a certain palmtree, or Tupi *jatai*, the name of a bird); Guapehy, a place on a small affluent of the Paranapanema in São Paulo, Brazil;[25] Piumhy (Piũí), a place in Minas Gerais, in the mountains not far from the Rio Grande; the Aguaray Guazú, an affluent of the Paraná in Paraguay (from Guarani *aguara* 'fox,' *zorro*); Capivary, the name of various rivers in Brazil and of an affluent of the Paraguay, in Paraguay (it is evidently derived from the name of the capybara, in Tupi *kapiwara*, in Guarani *kapiyva*); the Jejui (Guazú) or Jejuí Guaçu, two rivers, one in Paraguay and another one in Paraná, Brazil, the latter an affluent of the Paraná (cf. Tupi *jeju*, the name of a small river fish); the Tecuahy, a tributary of the Marañón, in the state of Amazonas, Brazil. Finally, we have to mention the Paraguay, the important tributary of the Paraná, and the Uruguay, which together with the latter forms the estuary of the Río de la Plata. The former name undoubtedly contains the same element *para* 'sea, river' with which we have dealt above or possibly the derivation *paragua* (which we have found as the name of several rivers in eastern South America); if derived from present-day Guarani — and the age of the name is, of course, not ascertainable — it would mean 'the river of *paragua* (a malpighiaceous plant),' but we have to reckon with several other possible meanings as well (in Tupi, for instance, *parawa* or *paragua* is the name of a parrot and also of a feather headgear made of its plumage);[26] as for the name Uruguay, it seems to contain the Tupian element *uru* 'bird,'[27]

[25] With this name cf. that of the Aguapehy, a small tributary of the Paraguay in Mato Grosso, in which the first part seems to be the Guarani (and Brazilian Portuguese) *aguapé*, the name of a South American river plant with broad leaves like those of the victoria; cf. also the city of Guapé in Minas Gerais (it is imaginable that the initial vowel of the Guarani form has been taken as the Portuguese preposition or article *a* and hence occasionally been left out).

[26] Incidentally, the form Paraguay (pronounced *paraguaə'* in Guarani), which is originally the name of the river, is now used by the Indians of Paraguay when speaking of the city of Asunción; the name of the republic – as well as of its inhabitants – is *paraguái*, from Spanish *Paraguay* and *paraguayo*, respectively. Even the river is now called *y paraguái* (= Río Paraguay) in Guarani.

[27] The same form (originally **ulu*) is common in this sense in various other South American languages.

but the Guarani *urugua* is now the designation of a kind of fresh-water periwinkle or mollusk (the same holds, however, for this name as what we have said above of that of the Paraguay, that is that the exact limits of the ideas expressed by the forms *para*(*gua*) and *uru*-(*gua*) are nowise ascertainable).

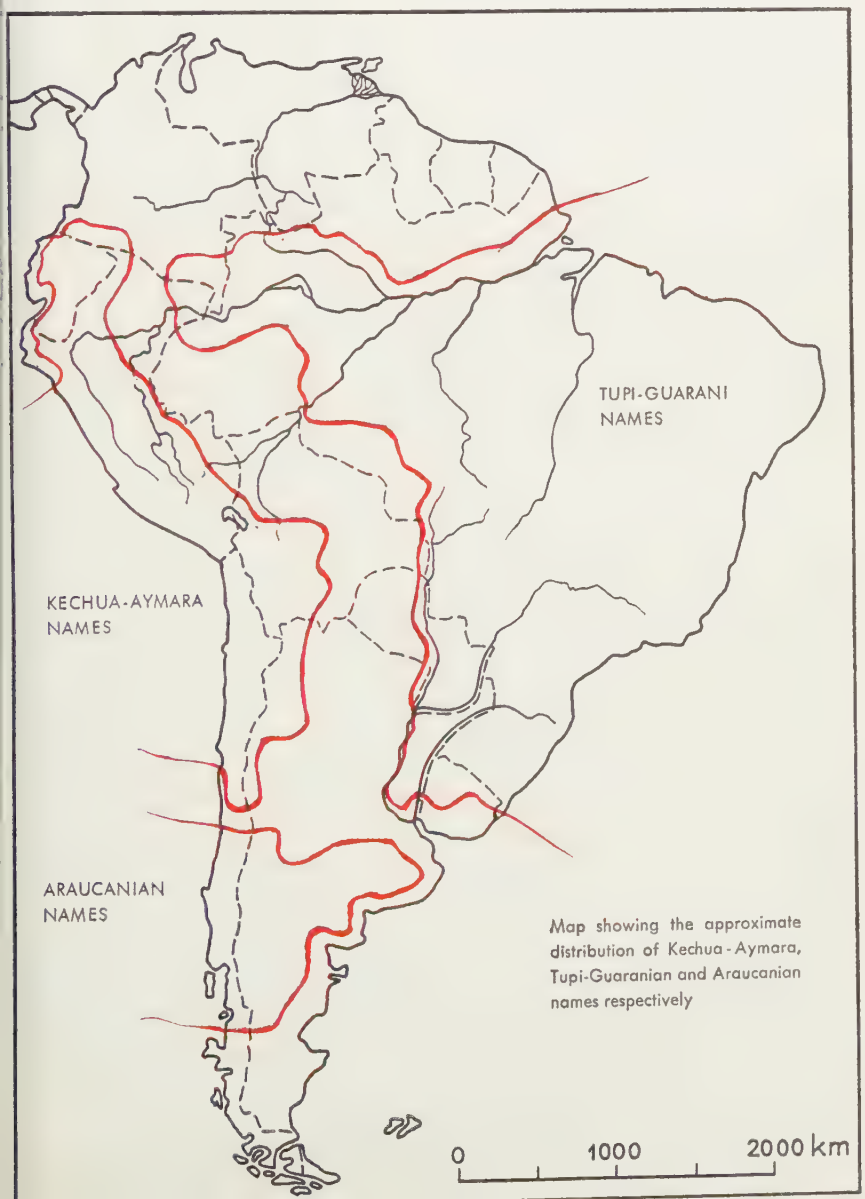
In a few names the final element *-y* (*-i*) appears in what seems a more ancient form: cf. Xirixica, the name of a river in São Paulo, Brazil (it is said to have been once called the Tiririca (?); either name would mean something like 'bubbling *or* boiling water' – in Guarani *xiryry* is 'boil') and also Itapecerica, the name of a place in Minas Gerais. In a few other cases, the element *y* ('water, river') is placed first in the name, being determined by an adjective or other attributive word, as in the above-mentioned Iguassú (Iguazú, Iguaçu) 'the big water or river.' Other names of this kind are: Iporanga ('beautiful water'), the name of various rivers and of a city in São Paulo, Brazil; Icatu ('the good water'), a city on the river Monim in the state of Maranhão, Brazil; further possibly Hyacu ('warm water'), the name of an affluent of the Purus in Amazonas, now officially written Iaco, and Hyapua ('the round water'?), the name of a lake in Amazonas (this name is, however, now generally given as Aiapuá).

In the western part of South America, a great many river names end in *-yacu* (*-yaco*) or *-mayu* (*-mayo*), with about equal distribution – although as an appellative ('water, river') *yacu* is now rather a northern word –; both come from Kechua and mean 'river.' The following are examples of *-yacu* (*-yaco*): Pumayacu ('puma river'), a place on the Río Piedras or Tigreyacu in eastern Peru, which latter may originally have been designed by this Kechua name; Burruyacú, a place on a small river in Tucumán, Argentina (the first part is evidently the Spanish *burro*, hence 'donkey river'); the Ambiyacu, a small affluent of the Marañón in Peru (*ampi* means 'night' in the Ancachs dialect); Sarayacu ('maize river'), a town on the Ucayali, in Peru. Of those ending in *-mayu* (*-mayo*) we may quote: the Yaguarmayo (literally 'bloody river'),[28] a tributary of the Inambari, in Peru; the Pilcomayo, the important tributary of the Paraguay (*pil'qu* in Kechua is the name of a bright-colored bird); the Putumayo, a tributary of the Amazon, forming the present boundary between Colombia, Peru and Ecuador (the first part, *putu*, means a gourd, used for drinking *chicha*); the Calcamayo, near

Ayacucho in Peru; the Vilgamayo, the river below Cuzco, Peru, an affluent of the Urubamba (the initial component — in Kechua *wil'qa* — is the name of a tree); Pacasmayo, a place near the coast, not far from Chiclayo, Peru; the Chanchamayo, in the department of Tarma, Peru; the Angasmayo ('the blue river'), on the border of Colombia and Ecuador (cf. Angas, the name of another river in Ecuador).

To be Continued

Lund, Sweden



Map showing the approximate distribution of Kechua-Aymara, Tupi-Guaranian and Araucanian names respectively

Scandinavian Place Names in England. IV.

ASSAR JANZÉN

LEGBARROW POINT, LEGBURTHWAITE

At the confluence of two rivers, the Crake and the Leven, in Colton parish, Lonsdale hundred, Lancashire, stands a prominent, although not very high, wood-clad point named *Legbarrow Point*. The only older form recorded is *Legbarrow* 1577. E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (hereafter abbreviated Ekwall, *Lancashire*), p. 217, gives the second element as ME *bergh* "a hill" and suggests that the name may be identical with the first element of *Legburthwaite* in Cumberland, "which is of doubtful origin."[1]

Legburthwaite is the name of a farm in St. John's, Castlerigg and Wythburn parish, Allerdale below Derwent ward, Cumberland. Older forms are: *Legberthwait* 1303, *Lekburnthuayte* 1487, *Legburgthwayte* 1530, *Leybarthwaite* 1552, *Legbo(u)rthwat* 1563, *Legberthwayte* 1573, *Leigburthwaite* 1602, *Legburgthwate* 1695.

The last element of this name is ON *þveit*, f. "a clearing, a meadow," frequently found in place-names in northwestern England. But the interpretation of the first element *Legbur(g)* , *Legber-*, etc., presents considerable difficulties. R. Ferguson, *The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland* (1856), p. 83, identified it with ON *lǫgberg*, n. "a law-mount". Later, H. Lindkvist in his doctoral dissertation *Middle-English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin* (1912), p. 116, note 5, considered the first member *Legbur(g)-*, etc., a now lost place-name, the original form of which he was "unable to trace", and he added that Ferguson's derivation "is quite unsupported by any evidence."

A different interpretation was given by W. J. Sedgefield, *The Place-Names of Cumberland and Westmorland* (1915), p. 74. He suggested, without adducing older forms, that we compare the name

[1] The name *Legbarrow*, being of topographical character, is not included in the material treated by H. C. Wyld and T. O. Hirst, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* and J. Sephton, *A Handbook of Lancashire Place-Names*.

Legbourne in Lincolnshire, and he added that the first element seems to be a personal name not recorded, perhaps terminating in *-beorn*.

EPNS, vol. 21, p. 313, from which most of the older forms were quoted, had this to say about *Legburthwaite:* "This is probably *'þveit* at *Leggr's be(o)rg*,' a personal name found in *Leggsby*, L[incolnshire]. The absence of the genitival inflexion in northern England is not unusual. The disappearance by 1303 of the middle of the three consonants is quite explicable." — This interpretation was adopted by A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements* (hereafter abbreviated Smith, *Elem.*), vol. 2, p. 220.

In my opinion, none of the suggested etymologies of *Legbarrow Point* and *Legburthwaite* is satisfactory. However, Ekwall was no doubt right when he held that *Legbarrow* and *Legbur-* may be of the same origin. It is certain that *-barrow* represents (the dative form) of OE *beorg* (Angl. *berg*), n. "a hill, a mount." As Smith, *Elem.*, vol. 1, p. 29, points out, in the Danelaw it is impossible to distinguish between OE *be(o)rg* and ON *berg* on a purely phonetic ground. On the other hand, *berg*, of either origin, easily became *-burg* as the second element in compounds, e.g. *Longburgh* (*Langeberg* 1279).[2] In the middle of a cluster of three consonants *g* quite naturally disappeared.

Thus, we have established that *Legbarrow* and *Legbur-* have an identical second element, *viz.* OE or ON *berg*. But what is *Leg-?*

Ferguson's interpretation of *Legbur-* as ON *lǫgberg* "a law-mount" is unacceptable not so much because of Lindkvist's remark that it is unsupported by any evidence — this is often the case — but definitely on phonetical grounds. ME *e* cannot reflect ON *ǫ*, which instead corresponds with *a* or *o* in Scandinavian loan words in England, the former vocalism normally in old loan words, the latter in words that entered the English language comparatively late. But ON *ö*, derived from an *i*-umlauted *o*, did appear as ME *e*. Ferguson probably failed to see the difference between OIcel. *ö* as a later development of *ǫ*, i.e. *u*-umlauted *a*, and as an *i*-umlauted *o*.

Not much better is Sedgefield's guess that we have to do with an unrecorded personal name possibly ending on *-beorn*. Obviously, he regarded *Legbur-* as a native English element. His reference to *Legbourne* in Lincolnshire has, of course, no value, since he gives no

[2] *EPNS*, 20. 128.

interpretation of the latter name. We shall, however, later return briefly to this name.

Phonetically and morphologically possible is the interpretation as "Leggr's hill" suggested in *EPNS*, vol. 21. The genitival *-s* did disappear quite frequently, in some regions normally, in North-English names, and this took place already ca. 1150.[3] There is no doubt that the Scandinavian (by)name *Leggr* is the first element of the place-name *Legsby* in Lincolnshire (*Lagesbi* 1086 Domesday Book [hereafter abbreviated DB], *Leggesbi* 1202 and 1212).[4] But *Leggr* was a very rare name in Scandinavia. It is known once as a byname in Landnámabók,[5] and three persons from the same family, two of whom were father and son, had *Leggr* as a given name.[6] It is not evidenced from Sweden or Denmark. It does not appear in Domesday Book, and the only instance found in the Danelaw occurs in the just mentioned place-name *Legsby*. It would indeed be odd if this name should occur in three or four place-names in northern Danelaw, twice combined with *-berg*. As final element in compounded place-names, *-berg* is usually preceded by descriptive adjectives or nouns, words for vegetation, etc., but rarely by personal names.[7]

As a basis for the interpretation of the two names here discussed it should be noted that they both appear in the northwestern part of England where in the beginning of the 10th century the Norwegian invaders most thoroughly penetrated into the native population and where innumerable place-names are of Scandinavian origin. Since *Legbarrow* and *Legbur-* cannot be given an acceptable interpretation by means of Anglian or Celtic vocabulary, there is reason for searching for an explanation based on Scandinavian material and since *Legburthwaite* as the last element has the Scandinavian word *þveit*, the rest of the name is most likely of the same origin.

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[3] See *EPNS*, 22. xliii; A. Janzén in *Namn och bygd*, 42 (1954), 15f., 18ff., and in *Names*, 5. 197.

[4] E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (1951, hereafter abbreviated Ekwall, *Dict.*), p. 281.

[5] E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden* (hereafter abbreviated Lind, *Binamn*), col. 241.

[6] E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn och fingerade namn från medeltiden* (hereafter abbreviated Lind, *Dopnamn*), col. 731.

[7] Smith, *Elem.*, 1. 29f.

In my opinion, the first element of *Legbarrow* and *Legbur-* may be identified with ON *leikr*, m. "a game, a play, a sport," which frequently appears in Scandinavian place-names. But before the supporting Scandinavian material is adduced I feel obliged to justify my interpretation phonetically. Is it possible that ON *Leik-* can appear as *Leg-* in northwestern England? Yes, I think it can be proved that this, under certain conditions, is a natural development. What has happened is that the ON diphthong *ei* has developed into *e*, the *k* has become *g* before *b*, and the quantity of the first syllable has changed from long vowel (diphthong) + short consonant to short vowel + long consonant. This was possible when the vowel was followed by two consonants in polysyllabic words.

When the ON diphthong *ei* was shortened, the result was *e̜*; cf. in the dialect of Kendal in Westmorland *kęk* "to tip up (a cart)," from ON *keikja* "to bend backwards"; *ręns* "to rinse," from ON *hreinsa* or the same word as Norw. dial. *reinska* "to rinse."[8] In this dialect ON *ei* first became *ę̄* and, when shortened, *ę*. In other dialects, where *ei* remained as diphthong, it developed directly into *e* when it was shortened. This happened also in Norwegian, e.g. in *Leksvold* (*a Leiksuale* 1310), *Leknes* (*i Leiknesi* ca 1360), etc.[9]

The weakening of *k* to *g* before *b* in the joint between two elements in a compound is far from unique. In England this change took place in, for instance, the following place-names: *Ogtet* in Lancashire (*Okelot* 1321, *de Og(o)lot* 1323, containing OE *āc* "an oak-tree" or the OE personal name *Oca* or *Occa*), *Aigburth*, also in Lancashire (*Aykeberh* ca. 1200, *Aikeberh*, *Eikeberhe* ca. 1250, identical with ON *Eikiberg*),[10] *Legbourne* in Lincolnshire (*Lecheburne* 1086 DB, *Lecceburne* 1158; from OE *lece*, Mod. Engl. *leake* "a trickling stream, a brook" or ON *tækr*, m. "a brook" + OE *burna* "a stream"),[11] *Ogbourne* (*Ochebourne* 1086 DB, *Occheburna* 1133; a

[8] See T. O. Hirst, *A Grammar of the Dialect of Kendal* (1906), p. 23; A. Torp, *Norsk etymologisk ordbok*, pp. 265, 523.

[9] *Norske Gaardnavne* (hereafter abbreviated *NG*), 5. 153; 12. 346.

[10] Ekwall, *Lancashire*, p. 111.

[11] See G. S. Streatfield, *Lincolnshire and the Danes* (1884), p. 247; Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 280; Smith, *Elem.*, 2. 23. I. Taylor, *Words and Places* (1885), p. 201, presented the unacceptable suggestion that *Legbourne* is a corruption of *Lögbourne*, which does not appear in the edition of 1911. – If both elements are native English words, which is generally believed, the name appears, as Streatfield remarked, to be an instance of tautology. Although such names do exist, it may be more probable that the name is

compound of the OE personal name *Occa* and *burna* "a spring, a stream").[12]

The change $k > g$ was accompanied or followed by shortening of the preceding stem vowel in *Digby* in Lincolnshire (*Dicbi* 1086 DB, *Diggebi* 1197, containing ON *dik(i)*, n. "a ditch"),[13] *Ogbeare* in Cornwall (a compound of OE *āc* "an oak-tree" and *bearu* "a wood, a grove").[14]

It would probably be an easy task to multiply the instances here adduced, especially if one included the change of *k* to *g* before other voiced consonants than *b*, but the examples already given illustrate, I think, sufficiently the natural character of the postulated development.

Also in Scandinavia the change $k > g$ before *b* in joints between elements of compounds is well evidenced, for instance in such Swedish place-names as *Tibble* (*Thyböle*, *Thigbili*, etc. 1291; from **Þyk-bøle* "the thickly populated or crowded farm"), *Tiggeby* (*Tyghby* 1382; from **Þyk-bȳ* "the crowded farm or village"), *Eggeby* (from **Ek-bȳ* "the farm or village with oak-tree or oak-trees," etc.[15] The only difference between the English and Swedish development of *-k + b-* is that in the latter language the change continued beyond the stage *-gb-* to complete assimilation into *bb* in some cases.

Also in Dutch place-names the same development occurred, e.g. *Begbergen* (*Beekbergen* 1314), *Eibergen* (< *Egbergen* < *Ekbergen*).[16]

Obviously, the development $k > g$ before *b* in the joint of a compound, partly with change of the quantitative conditions, took place in several areas of the western and northern domains of the

a hybrid formation containing ON *lækr* and OE *burna*. This would be easily understood if the original name of the stream was *Lækr*, to which the native population added *burna* in order to indicate the topographical nature of a stream.

[12] *EPNS*, 16. 303; Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 332.

[13] Cf. Streatfield, *op.cit.*, p. 282; Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 138; Smith, *Elem.*, 1. 133.

[14] Smith, *Elem.*, 1. 23.

[15] About factors that furthered and prevented this sound change see A. Noreen in *Minnesskrift ... tillägnad Professor Axel Erdmann* (1913), pp. 1ff.; Hj. Lindroth in *Namn och bygd*, 3 (1915), 37ff.; E. Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (1939), p. 1193 and *De svenska ortnamnen på -by* (1918), pp. 42f.; P. J. Åberg in *Namn och bygd*, 4 (1916), 174ff.

[16] J. H. Gallé in *Nomina geographica neerlandica*, 3. 367; Hj. Lindroth, *op.cit.*, pp. 50f.

Germanic languages. But it did not happen always, only occasionally. It could easily be prevented if the first element of the compound was associated with the identical appellative. The fact that the change *k* > *g* does not seem to have taken place in Norway and Iceland, at least not to the same extent as in Sweden and England, was probably partly due to such associations. In Iceland the case system did not break down at all, and in Norway it came about rather late. The association with the appelatives was therefore kept alive. Furthermore, the retention of the case endings in the first element of compounds prevented *k* and *b* from coming into immediate contact with each other.

In northern England there was in the native dialects, Celtic or Anglian, no appellative that could be associated with the first element *Leik-*. Consequently, the phonetical tendency of changing *-kb-* into the more homologous combination *-gb-* could operate unobstructed. On the other hand, it is possible that the English noun *leg* — hardly the rare Scandinavian (by)name *Leggr* — could have attracted the element *Leik-* in the course of its development into *Leg-*, but such an assumption is not at all necessary.

In the above discussion I have proved my claim that ON *Leikberg* in northwestern England quite naturally developed into *Legberg*, in which the weakly stressed second element could and did change in various ways to *barrow*, *burg*, etc.

All over Scandinavia there are numerous place-names, partly of considerable age, containing the first element Norw. *Leik-*, Swed. *Lek-*, and denoting places where games, races and other sports activities were held. The ON appellative *leikvǫllr*, m., signifies such a play-ground and appears as place-name a few times in Norway and Sweden. More frequent are the synonymous place-names Norw. *Leikvang*, Swed. *in Lekwanga* 1388 (now lost), ON *Leikvangr*, plur. *-vangir*; Norw. *Leikve(n)*, *Løken*, Swed. *Lekene*, ON *Leikvin(i)*; Swed. *Lekslätt*, etc. Also more or less elevated places, hills, ridges, etc., were used as play-grounds, e.g. Norw. *Leikhammer* (ON *hamarr*, m. "a crag"), *Leikaas(en)*, Swed. *Lekås(en)*, *Lekåsa* (ON *áss*, m. "a rocky ridge"), Swed. *Lekberget*, *Lekberg(a)* (ON *berg*, n. "a hill"), and many others. In Heimskringla is mentioned a place called *Leikberg* in the now Swedish province of Bohuslän,

where king Eysteinn Haraldsson in 1147 conquered an army of native farmers.[17]

In Seascale parish, Allerdale above Derwent ward, Cumberland, is a place named *Laking How*. According to *EPNS*, vol. 21, p. 433, the name contains the present participle of North-English dial. *lake* "to play," borrowed from ON *leika*, v., and ON *haugr*, m. "a hill." The anglicized form corresponds to ON **Leikandi-haugr* "the hill where one plays," with the participle in gerundival function.[18]

We can well imagine that the Scandinavian invaders of England brought with them many of the usages and customs of their native country, including the habit of holding games, tournaments, races, etc. Of course, the indigenous English population also practised sports of similar nature. I think such activities were once held at *Legbarrow*, *Legburthwaite* and *Laking How*.

The name *Leikethwaites* (*Leikethaites* ca. 1180, *Leikeththeit*, *Leikestheit* ca. 1200) of a place in the township of Forton in Cockerham parish, Amounderness hundred, Lancashire, may according to Lindkvist, *op. cit.*, p. 117, contain either the Old West-Scandinavian man's name *Leikr* or the appellative *leikr*, m. "game, sport, play," indicating a play-ground intended for athletics of various kinds. The second element is ON *þveit*, f. (or possibly *þveiti*, n.) "a clearing, a paddock, a meadow," which in North-English dialects from the end of the 12th century onwards appeared in local records without *-w-* (*theit*, *thait*, etc.), depending on a spontaneous dialectal development.[19] E. Ekwall, *Lancashire*, p. 252, adduces the name without interpretation. In my opinion, the name most likely refers to sports activities.

It is not impossible that the name *Laconby*, pronounced *leikənbi* (*Lakynbye*, *Lakenby* 1548), in Gosforth parish, Allerdale above Derwent ward, Cumberland, ought to be considered in connection with the names here discussed. *EPNS*, vol. 21, p. 396, says that, although the recorded forms are late, the name may well be an ancient formation in *-by*, and that it may be identical with *Lackenby*

[17] About Scandinavian place-names containing *Leik-* see, for instance, J. Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog* (hereafter abbreviated Fritzner, *Ordbog*), 2. 274; *NG Indledning*, pp. 64f.; E. Wessén in *Namn och bygd*, 9 (1921), 103ff.

[18] About the present participle in gerundival function see E. Wessén, *Svensk språkhistoria*, 3. 152f., and under the name *Dancing Gate* below.

[19] H. Lindkvist, *op.cit.*, p. 101.

in the North Riding of Yorkshire, "in which the first element seems to be OIr *Lochán*." In *Names*, vol. 6, pp. 14ff., I have given the name *Lackenby* another interpretation but apart from that, the pronunciation *leikən-* of *Laconby* seems to prevent the assumption that it is identical with *Lackenby*, which has a short stem vowel in the first element. Perhaps *Laconby* reflects an older form **Lakingby* "the farm where games are held", an anglicized form of ON **Leikandibýr* of the same nature as *Laking How* above and *Dancing Gate* below, earlier written *Danson Yeate*, *Wampool* below, etc. But I cannot support this suggestion with other names in *-by* with the same or similar semantic relation between the elements. It would be theoretically possible to assume that the first element was an original genitive **Leikanda-* of a personal (by)name **Leikandi*, but no such name seems to have been recorded.

WODECASTMIRE, CAST RIGG

The field-name *Wodecastmire*, now lost, in Thursby parish, Cumberland ward, Cumberland, is recorded only once, viz. in an ancient deed from 1290. It is included in *EPNS*, vol. 20, p. 157, but only the last element *-mire* is interpreted. It is ON *mýrr*, f. "swampy ground, a bog," which frequently occurs in Cumberland field-names. But what is *Wodecast-*?

The part of Cumberland where this name belonged is swarming with Scandinavian place-names. The name of the parish is Scandinavian: *Thursby* (*Thoresby* ca. 1165) is ON *Þórisbýr*.[20] Since the last element *-mire* is a Scandinavian word, it is likely that also the rest of the name is of the same origin. I think *Wodecast-* should be seen in the light of the following Scandinavian words:

1. ON *við(ar)kǫstr*, m., OSwed. *viþ(a)kaster*, m., ODan. *withækast*, *uiþ-*, *weþ-*, m. "a pile of wood." In modern Swedish dialects the word *vedkast*, m., also denotes "a place where wood is piled," and it is possible that this meaning is old.[21]

2. Swed. (dial.) *vedkast*, *timmerkast*, n. "a precipice where wood or timber is thrown for further haulage, a lumber shoot." The sim-

[20] The man's name is by *EPNS*, 20. 154, somewhat inappropriately given as *Þóri* or *Þúri* for *Þórir* or *Þúrir*.

[21] About the words quoted see Fritzner, *Ordbog*, 3. 929, 932; C. J. Schlyter, *Ordbok till Samlingen af Sveriges Gamla Lagar*, p. 718; K. F. Söderwall, *Ordbok*

plex *kast* is in Swedish and Norwegian place-names often used in the same meaning. *Timmerkastet* (def. sing.) is a place-name in the West-Swedish province of Bohuslän.[22]

It appears probable that the element *Wodecast-* represents either ON *við(ar)kǫstr*, m. "a woodpile," or **viðkast*, n. "a precipice where wood is thrown down" and that ON *Við(ar)-* was early replaced by the synonymous and originally identical native word, ME *wood*, OE *wudu*. The gender of the last element in *Wodecast* is unknown, and consequently no linguistic criterion can be used for the identification of the word with one or the other of the two Scandinavian words. Of course, if there is no steep hill or ridge, the second alternative is automatically eliminated. I do not know whether the name now can be exactly localized. If not, no choice between the two possible interpretations is possible.

If the name now discussed should happen to denote a lumber shoot, it should be judged in conjunction with the name *Cast Rigg* of a place in Underskiddaw parish, Allerdale below Derwent ward, Cumberland. Earlier forms are: *Castrig'* 1279, *Castaryg* 1563, *Castaryk* 1564, *the Howe of Casterigge* 1574, *Castrigge fell* 1601.

EPNS, vol. 21, p. 321, interprets the last element as either OE *hrycg* or ON *hryggr*, m. "an oblong hill, a ridge," both words frequently occurring in Cumberland field-names and often indistinguishable. About the first element it is said that it may be Old Anglian *cæster* "an ancient fort," although there is no trace of Roman or other ancient earthworks.

The interpretation is hardly convincing, even if it is phonetically defensible. But since the area here concerned is one where Scandinavian place-names are extremely common, I find reason to operate on the assumption that the name *Cast Rigg* is Scandinavian. In fact, I think it reflects an ON **Kast-hryggr*, in which the first element theoretically could be either *kǫstr*, m., or *kast*, n. (see above), or perhaps the verbal stem in *kasta* "to throw." Not without interest is the form *Castrigge fell* of 1601, in which the suffixed element is ME *fell*, borrowed from ON *fjall*, *fell*, n. "a hill, a mountain." This word

öfver svenska medeltidsspråket (hereafter abbreviated Söderwall, *Ordbok*), 2. 949. 964; J. E. Rietz, *Svenskt dialekt-lexikon*, p. 805; *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* 26. 774f.

[22] See *NG Indledning*, p. 59; *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län* (hereafter abbreviated *OGB*), 3. 184; 11. 85; 20: 1. 220.

usually denotes rather high and steep hills or ridges in North-English place-names, which to some extent speaks in favor of the interpretation as "the ridge with a lumber shoot." Semantic parallels would be such West-Scandinavian place-names as *Kastebergen, -berget, -haugen.*[23] Perhaps also the name *Scoat Fell* (*Le Scote* 1338, *Leescote* 1578) in Nether Wasdale parish, Allerdale above Derwent ward, Cumberland, is a another semantic parallel, if E. Ekwall in *EPNS*, vol. 21, p. 441, is right in his derivation of the name from ON *skot*, n. "a projecting piece of land, a rising hill," also "a place where timber is shot down a hill," which is well evidenced in Norway and western Sweden; cf., for instance, the Norwegian place-name *Skot* and numerous *Skottet* (def. sing.) and compounds with the first element *Skott(s)-* in the West-Swedish province of Bohuslän.[24] Smith, *Elem.* vol. 2, p. 126, concurs in this interpretation without comment.

It is possible that the first member of the name *Cotescue Park* (*Scotescogh, -skew* 14th century and 1610) in the North Riding of Yorkshire refers either to a lumber shoot or a self-triggered trap for hunting animals; cf. *Gaskow* below and *EPNS*, vol. 5, p. 255, where different interpretations are advanced.

In spite of what seems to give preference to the interpretation of *Cast Rigg* as a timber shoot, the possibility that the name refers to a hill on or by which wood was piled must not be ignored. Thus, again we have to stop at a *non licet*. Only familiarity with the places concerned or a thorough inspection of them can make a definite choice between the two linguistically equivalent alternatives possible.

DANCING GATE

In the same parish as *Cast Rigg* above is a place-name which on the *6" Ordnance Survey Map* appears as *Dancing Gate*. Earlier forms are *Danson Yeate* 1571, *Dansinyeat* 1576, *Dansingyeat* 1592.

EPNS, vol. 21, p. 323, refers to the name *Danson Place, Dansinge Place* 1574 of an adjacent (or identical?) locality and assumes that it may contain the personal name *Danson*.

The second element is ME *gate* "a road," borrowed from ON *gata*, f. In local records from the 16th and 17th centuries this word was

[23] See *OGB*, 11. 81; 16. 157; *NG*, 1. 98.

[24] *NG*, 5. 288; 13. 135; *OGB, passim.*

regularly written *-yeat, -y(e)ate* and the like. *EPNS* considers the name a hybrid formation, but since the second element is a Scandinavian word and the place in question is located in area where Scandinavian place-names are as common as English ones, I feel inclined to interpret the name on the basis of Scandinavian place nomenclature.

There is in western Scandinavia a great number of field-names that contain the first elements *Dansar(e)-, Danser-, Danse-*, e.g. in Norway: *Danseraasen* (*aas*, m. "a ridge"), *-bakken, -bakkane* (*bakke*), m. "a hill, a slope"), *-fjeld* (*fjeld*, n. "a hill"), *-haugen* (*haug*, m. "a hill"), *Dansarberget, Dansefjeld*; in the West-Swedish province of Bohuslän, which in the Medieval Ages belonged to Norway: *Dansarebacken, -backarna* (*backe*, m. "a slope, a flat ground"), *-hällan* (*hälla*, f. "a flat rock"), *-kullen* (*kulle*, m. "a hill"), *-marken* (*mark*, f. "a ground, a field"), *Danseberget, -bergen, -kulle*; in the West-Swedish province of Västergötland: *Dansarmossen* (*mosse*, m. "a bog"), etc. All these names, most of which denote eminences or hills, but in some cases flat pieces of land, indicate dancing in one form or another. Sometimes it appears that old ritual dances were executed, or the names refer to fairy dances, Midsummer Eve dances or folkdances. In a few cases, local informants refer to dancing by shepherd-boys, and occasionally the names are attached to some old tradition, e.g. about bridal couples that danced to death in the places concerned.[25]

The nature of the second element in *Dancing Gate* does not indicate any other form of dancing than for pleasure. Before the existence of dancing floors out in the country the young farm people in Scandinavia, and no doubt in England also, used to gather on Saturday evenings at crossroads or in other suitable places along the roads, dancing and playing. The name *Dancing Gate* turns the thoughts of a Scandinavian spontaneously upon the opening lines of a well known song by the marvellous Swedish poet Gustav Fröding:

> Det var dans borti vägen på lördagsnatten,
> över nejden gick låten av spelet och skratten,

[25] About the various interpretations of the names mentioned see *NG*, 3. 10; *OGB*, 3.188; 5. 175; 9. 126; 10. 88; 11. 13, 79; 16. 154; 18. 194; 20. 41; 20. 187, 262; O. Lundberg in *Namn och bygd*, 8.48, and in the various places quoted literature.

in translation by Ch. W. Stork, which lacks a good deal of the original flavor:[26]

> They danced by the roadside on Saturday night,
> and the laughter resounded to left and to right.

I suggest that *Dancing Gate* signifies such a place as described by Fröding. The names *Dancing Gate* and *Dancing Place* must refer to two adjacent localities or perhaps the same place. If the former alternative is the right one, it cannot be determined which one of the two names is the primary one, but this has no significance for the interpretation of the names.

Formally, the first element in Scandinavian names ending in *-are-*, *-ar-*, weakened *-er-*, as well as the form *Danse-*, are of verbal nature, and *-ar(e)-*, *-er-* is of the same gerundival nature as Scandinavian *-ande-* and as the English *-ing*; see the discussion at the end of the article *Legbarrow Point* above, and *Wampool* below. For English *-ing* substituting Scand. *-ande* cf. *Routing Gill* < ON **Rautanda gil* (*EPNS*, vol. 20, p. 25).

Thus, Scandinavian *Dansareberget* means "the hill where people (or other creatures or phenomena) dance;" *Dancing Gate* (*Place*) means "the road(side) (the place) where people dance."

GASKOW

In Irton with Santon parish, Allerdale above Derwent ward, Cumberland, is a field-name written *Garscogh* 1399, *Garscoue* 1614, *Gaskow* 1717, now lost. *EPNS*, vol. 21, p. 404, gives the following laconic interpretation: "Possibly OE *gār*, 'spear,' or *gāra*, and *skógr*." This is hardly a real interpretation, since no meaning of the whole name is suggested.

The last element is evidently ON *skógr*, m. "a wood, a forest." Since OE *gār* means "a spear" and OE *gāra* signifies "a triangular piece of land," we are invited to choose between meanings like "the spear wood" and "the triangular wood." The last alternative makes sense, but forests were hardly named for the shape of their outlines. "The spear wood" is an interesting meaning but it needs further explanation.

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[26] *Anthology of Swedish lyrics from 1750 to 1925* (*Scandinavian Classics*, vol. 9), p. 194.

In Ulverston parish, Lonsdale hundred, Lancashire, is another *Gascow*, pronounced *gaskə* and earlier written [*Gars*]*chownab* ca. 1180, *Garthscoh*(*lac*) ca. 1230, *Gartschou* ca. 1275. Here the recorded forms indicate that the first element is ON *garðr*, m., but in what sense? H. C. Wyld and T. O. Hirst, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (1911), p. 132, thought that the first element is the ON personal name *Garðr*, a rather common name in medieval Norway. This interpretation is possible, since compounded place-names ending in *-skógr* sometimes do have a personal name as the first member, e.g. *Skelderskew* (*Schelderscoh* 1119) in the North Riding of Yorkshire, *Scalderscew* (*Scalderscogh* 1243) in Cumberland, probably containing the ON personal name *Skjǫldr* (gen. *Skjaldar*),[27] *Tarlscough* (*Tharlescogh* ca. 1190) in Lancashire, containing ON *Þaraldr*, a side-form of *Þoraldr*, developed through regressive vowel assimilation.[28]

J. Sephton, *A Handbook of Lancashire Place-Names* (1913), p. 102, interpreted the first element in *Gascow* as the ON appellative *garðr*, m. "a farm" and gave the translation of the name as "farm-wood," which does not convey much meaning. If the first element is the appellative *garðr*, it no doubt is in the sense of "a fence, an enclosure," as was suggested by Ekwall, *Lancashire*, p. 212, with concurrence by Smith, *Elem.*, vol. 1, p. 195, and the meaning would be "the fenced-in wood" or "the wood with an enclosure."

Since place-names ending in *-skógr* usually have a significant word as the first element, this interpretation is to be preferred to the one that operates with a personal name. Moreover, since *ð* in **Garðskógr* according to the old records could disappear before 1200, it is quite possible that also the name *Gaskow* in Cumberland should be interpreted as being identical with *Gascow* in Lancashire. However, the suggestion in *EPNS*, vol. 21, p. 404, that the first member could be OE *gār* "a spear" is worth consideration. It is possible that the name is a hybrid formation, but it is perhaps more likely that it is an anglicization of an ON **Geir-skógr*, in which the first element would be ON *geirr*, m. "a spear." In either case it is tempting to assume that the first element refers to trap spears for hunting wild

[27] *EPNS*, 5.149; 21. 339; Smith, *Elem.*, 2. 126. It is, however, possible that *skjǫldr* here is an appellative denoting some formation in the terrain, which is often the case in Scandinavian place-names; see, for instance, *NG*, 10. 443; 11. 75; 12. 11. An impossible interpretation was given by R. Ferguson, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

[28] Ekwall, *Lancashire*, p. 124; Smith, *Elem.*, 2. 126.

animals, especially beasts of prey. Several Swedish place-names, e.g. *Spjuthult* (containing OSwed. *spiūt*, n. "a spear" and *hult*, n. "a wood, a grove"), *Björnspjutet* ("the bear spear") denote such traps;[29] cf. also OSwed. *bassaspiūt*, ODan. *baspjud*, OSwed. *biornspiūt*, *älgh(ia)spiūt* "a trap spear for hunting boars, bears, and moose, respectively."[30] I am quite convinced that several Norwegian names containing *Spjot(a)-*, *Spjut-*, which have been given other interpretations, actually refer to selftriggered hunting spears.[31] I also think that such English names as *Sparsholt*, *Holtspar*, *Sparhanger*, in which *Spar(s)-*, *-spar* has been identified as ME *sperre* "a spar, a shaft" or OE *spere* "a spear," should be reconsidered for a possible reference to trap spears.

Many Scandinavian place-names contain OSwed. *stokker*, m. "a pole trapped for hunting animals;"[32] cf. also OSwed. *älgh-stokker*, m. "a pole trapped for hunting moose."[33]

The name *Garstang* in Lancashire (*Cherestanc* 1086 DB, *Geirstang*, *Gairstang* ca. 1195—1247, *Gay(e)rstang* 1246) is in my opinion probably a memory of an old spear trap: ON *geirr* "a spear" and *stǫng*, f. "a pole."[34] I also think that *Gargrave* (*Geregrave* 1086 DB, *Geirgrave* 1226—1335, *Geyregrave* 1231—1303) in the West Riding of Yorkshire, denotes a pit with spear(s) in which animals were killed.[35]

The name *Gartre* occurs twice in the Danelaw. It is a hundred name in Leicestershire (*Ger(e)trev* 1086 DB) and the name of a wapentake in Lincolnshire (*Cheiretre* ca. 1115, *Gertrie* 1167, *Geretre* 1186). O. S. Anderson (Arngarth), *The English Hundred-Names* (1934), pp. 45f., 53, assumes that the two names "may have had

[29] See *Sveriges ortnamn, Älvsborgs län*, 4. 72; 12. 116f.; J. Sahlgren, *Skagershults sockens naturnamn*, p. 58, and in *Namn och bygd*, 8 (1920), 161, 172.

[30] Söderwall, *Ordbok*, 1. 11, 112; 13. 1092.

[31] See, for instance, *NG*, 1. 56, 105, 285; 16. 394.

[32] See Sahlgren in *Namn och bygd*, 8 (1920), 161.

[33] Söderwall, *Ordbok*, 3. 1097.

[34] Other interpretations by H. G. Wyld and T. O. Hirst, *op.cit.*, pp. 131f.; J. B. Johnston, *The Place-Names of England and Wales*, pp. 271f.; Lindkvist, *op.cit.*, pp. 47f.; Sephton, *op. cit.*, p. 149; Ekwall, *Lancashire*, p. 163, and *Dict.*, p. 184; Smith, *Elem.*, 1. 199; 2. 157.

[35] Differently interpreted by F. W. Moorman, *The Placenames of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, p. 1910; Lindkvist, *op.cit.*, p. 46; Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 183; Smith, *Elem.*, 1. 194. About such pitfalls with spears in Scandinavia see *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid*, 3. 397 ff.

some technical sense, now lost " I think he is right and suggest that the technical sense has to do with hunting with trap spears or poles. I feel quite sure that *Gartre* in both cases is a Scandinavian name representing an ON **geir-tré*, n., in the same meaning as **geir-stǫng* above.[36]

The thought that *Gaskow* in Cumberland contains OE *gār*, perhaps originally ON *geirr*, alluding to selftriggered hunting spears, is encouraged when one in the same parish finds such field-names as *Wluehou* 1260 (ON **Ulvahaugr* "wolves' hill"), *Gillermire* 1717, which in *EPNS*, vol. 21, p. 404. is adduced uninterpreted but no doubt is ON **Gildru-mýrr* (or **Gildri-*), containing *gildra*, f., or *gildri*, n. "a trap, a snare" and *mýrr*, f. "a bog."[37]

WAMPOOL

Wampool is the name of a ca. 15 miles long river which runs through the heart of Cumberland in northwesterly direction to the Moricambe Bay at the Solway. On the river, in Aikton parish, ca. two miles from its effluence into the sea, is a farm with the same name.

The river-name was written: *poll Waðœn* Gospatric's Writ, ca. 1050 (copy from 12th century), *Wathepol'* 1189, *Wathenpoll* 1190, *Wathepol* 1201, *Wathelpol* 1201—1292 (frequently), *Wadhepol* 1230, *Uathinpol* 1279, *Waunpol* 1285, *Wathenpol(e)* 1291—1540 (frequently), *Watenpol* 1292, *Wadenpole* 1540, *Wathenpoole*, *Wampoole* 1578, *Warnpoole* 1671, *Wample* 1675, *Wampool* 1777.

The farm-name was written: *Wathepol* ca. 1223—1279(five times), *Wadhepol*, *Wade-* 1230, *Wathelpol* 1235, *Watthepol'* 1240, *Wathelpole* ca. 1275, *Wathinpol* 1292, *Wampoll*, *-pol(e)*, *-pool(e)* etc. 1332 *et passim*, *Wathenpole* 1399.

An interpretation of the name given by R. Ferguson, *The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmoreland* (1856), p. 115, has now a mere curiosity interest. He considered *Wampool* a "corruption" of *Wathpool*, which he derived from *wath* "a ford," of either Anglo-

[36] Other interpretations were given by H. Lindkvist, *op.cit.*, p. 49; Smith *Elem.*, 1. 199; 2. 186.

[37] Cf. ME *gildire*, *gilder* 'snare,' a Scandinavian loanword; see E. Björkman in *Studien zur englischen Philologie*, 7. 154.

Saxon or Scandinavian origin. Equally impossible is an interpretation by J. M. Kemble, *The Saxons in England* (1876), p. 344.

A. Bugge, *Vikingerne*, vol. 2 (1906), p. 277, considering only the form in Gospatric's Writ, did conceive *poll Waðæn* correctly as an inversion compound in Irish fashion, but he misinterpreted the name as an original form **Vatn-pollr*, containing ON *vatn*, n. "water" and ON *pollr*, m. "a small rounded bay (with a narrow entrance)."

J. B. Johnston, *The Place-Names of England and Wales* (1915), p. 493, identified the last element with the words Welsh *pwl*, Gaelic *poll*, Engl. *pool*, which "tend to mean 'a stream'." His thought that the first element may be related to Welsh *gwydden*, Cornish *gweden* "a tree" is impossible.

W. J. Sedgefield, *The Place-Names of Cumberland and Westmorland* (1915), p. 120, held that ON *vaðr* [sic!] "shallow water, a ford"[38] "would not account for the *n* in the early forms" and thought that the first element may be Celtic. He assumed that the second member is either OE *pōl* "a pool" or ON *poll* (wrong for *pollr*) "a pool or cave with narrow entrance."

E. Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England* (1918), pp. 30f., considered the etymology of the name obscure. Since the earliest forms point to an original form ending in *-en* rather than *-el*, he found it possible that the first element could be a lost name of the river or perhaps identical with the common Norwegian place-name *Vøien*, etc., from ON **Vǫð-vin* "the farm at the ford," which "may have been transferred by Norse settlers from their Norwegian home." Ekwall's interpretation was adopted by E. A. Philippson, *Germanisches Heidentum bei den Angelsachsen*, p. 160.

Later, Ekwall gave up this thought and changed his opinion of the precedence of the forms in *-en* and *-el*. In his majestic work *English River-Names*, pp. 431f., he said: "The two forms with *n* and with *l* have about the same claims to be the original one. The *n*-form is found earlier, though not in an original source, and it is well evidenced in early original sources. In its favour tell two further facts: it yields a good etymology and a change of *l* to *n* is easily explained as due to dissimilation." Ekwall went on to say that in the

[38] Sedgefield confused ON *vað*, n. 'a ford' and *vaðr*, m. 'a string, a fishing-line.'

form *poll Waðœn*, although it is to be looked upon as a British name, the element *Waðœn* "may be a Scandinavian name of the place on the Wampool or of the stream itself." He found it impossible to separate the element from ON *vað*, n. "a ford" and gave his new interpretation a positive wording: "I suggest definitely that it is ON *vaðill* 'a ford,' but the meaning may quite well be that of 'a shallow water-course or creek that may be waded at low tide,' a sense found in Norw. dialects.... The name would then have belonged to the Wampool, for which it would be accurate." Ekwall did not find any reason for paying any particular attention to the strange spelling *œ* in *poll Waðœn*. As to the dissimilatory change from *l* to *n* he remarked that "it may partly at least have taken place in the language of the Britons or be due to inexact rendering by Britons of a Germanic name."

In his *Dict.*, p. 472, Ekwall held to his interpretation, although he phrased his opinion about the first element less firmly than before, saying that it "seems to be" ON *vaðill* "a ford." The second element he identified with Welsh *poll*, Cornish *pol* "a stream."

EPNS, 22. 21 f. and 487, gives the second element as ME *poll* related to Welsh *pwll*, Cornish *poll* "a stream, a pool," but regards the first member as uncertain. Furthermore it is maintained that Ekwall's suggestion that it is ON *vaðill* "a ford" hardly can be sustained "in the face of the long run of early forms with *-n-*, and in particular the *Waðœn* of Gospatric's charter."

Smith, *Elem.*, 1. 69, accepts the identification of the last element with the Celtic word *poll* "a hole, a pit, a pond," but gives no suggestion as to the etymology of the first element.

Of the earlier interpretations only Ekwall's deserves serious consideration. Like Smith, I cannot agree with Ekwall's statement that either of the two forms with *-n-* and *-l-* may be the original one. There are four forms without *-l-* before the first *l*-form appears. It is true that two of them have neither *l* nor *n*, but it is evident that the *l*-forms are later than those with and without *n*. As will be shown below, the *n*-less forms can easily be explained on the basis of *n*-forms. The pronunciation has developed from *n*-forms. Ekwall explains the *n* as a result of dissimilation *l—l* > *n—l*, and he would probably regard the forms without both *l* and *n* in the first element as the extreme result of the same tendency, leading to the disappearance of the first *l*. From a phonetic point of view this argu-

mentation is unchallengeable. But his claim that the *l*-forms are favored by the fact that they yield a good etymology loses its value if an equally good or better etymology based on the *n*-forms can be found. This I hope to be able to show.

Ekwall lays some stress upon the fact that the oldest form does not occur in an original source. I think the name can be interpreted even without consideration of the earliest form, but if it can be proved to be reliable, Ekwall's interpretation cannot be upheld. Thus, the oldest form deserves an attempt at evaluation.

There is no doubt about the authenticity of Gospatric's Writ. It was issued between 1041 and 1055. The existing text is a copy (of a copy?) from the 13th century, made by a scribe who failed to understand at least part of the original and was unfamiliar with some Old English paleographical symbols. Therefore the copy contains some strange spellings and forms. The word that interests us here, viz. the one that represents the name *Wampool*, has been transcribed as

1. *polle Waðæn*, by F. Liebermann and A. Brandl;[39]
2. *poll Waðeen*, by F. W. Ragg;[40]
3. *poll Waðœn*, by J. Wilson,[41] F. E. Harmer,[42] and *EPNS*;[43]
4. *poll Wathoen*, by C. Greenwell;[44]
5. *poll' Waðoen*, by E. Ekwall;[45]
6. *poll Waðoen*, by E. Ekwall.[46]

What has been transcribed as *æ*, *œ*, *oe*, *ee* is a ligature. It is true that it looks like *œ*, but it is quite possible that *æ* was intended. In the former case the ligature in the prototype was misread by the copyist, in the latter case he did read it correctly but wrote it a little carelessly. The ligature *œ* was probably unknown to him. Wrong is Ragg's transcription *ee*. For several reasons, the original cannot have

[39] *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 3 (1903), 18ff. The *-e* in *polle* seems to have no justification. The original is said to have *poll'*, but there is hardly any sign of an abbreviation mark.

[40] *The Ancestor*, 7 (October, 1903), 244.

[41] *The Scottish Historical Review*, 1 (1903), 62ff.

[42] F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (1952; the most thorough investigation of the document made), p. 423.

[43] Vol. 22 (1952), pp. xxviii, 29, with facsimile of the writ.

[44] J. C. Hodgson, *A History of Northumberland*, 7 (1904), 24ff.

[45] *English River-Names* (1928), p. 431. About the apostrophe after *poll* see note 39.

[46] *Dict.* (1947, 1951), pp. 472.

had *æ*. Most likely it was *æ*, but judging from peculiarities in the paleography of the copy one could also defend an assumption that the original had *a*. Most important for the interpretation of the name *Wampool* is the fact that the scribe never confused *n* and *l*. Whether the original had the vowel *æ* or *a* is of little consequence for the etymology of the name, but of the greatest importance is the safe establishment of the final *-n*.

The river Wampool runs through a region which shows an unusually strong Scandinavian settlement. In the immediate vicinity Scandinavian names exceed greatly native ones in number. The Wampool is a small river. In Cumberland, streams of similar dimensions frequently have Scandinavian names. Therefore it would be perfectly natural if *Wampool* also should turn out to be of Scandinavian origin. This, I believe, is the case.

I suggest that *Wampool* reflects an original Scandinavian **Vaðandi-pollr*, meaning "the pool that can be forded." The present participle of ON *vaða* "to wade, to ford" has the same gerundival function as was illustrated under the articles *Legbarrow Point* and *Dancing Gate* above. The English word *wading pool* is a perfect parallel.

The Wampool flows through lowlands of less than 30 feet elevation. It gave name to a settlement located a short distance up the river. A little further down and on the opposite side is a minor habitation called *Powhill*, so named in 1718, which according to *EPNS*, vol. 20, p. 144, contains as the first element the same word as the second member in *Wampool*. Furthermore, a tributary to the Wampool, emerging into it at the farm of Wampool, is on the *6" Ordnance Survey Map* named *Pow Beck*. It was *Watter of Powe* 1589, *becke called Powe* 1605. *Pow* is a regular development of *poll*. Obviously, Wampool and Powhill were once situated by a "*pollr*," which later has dried up or has been laid dry.

The identification of the second element is extremely difficult. Theoretically, the following words must be taken into consideration:

1. OE *pōl* "a pond, a pool in a river, a stream," German *Pfuhl*.

2. OE *pull* "a pond, a stream," probably a British loan-word cf. Welsh *pwll*, Irish, Gaelic *poll*, Breton *poull*.

3. ME *poll* "a stream," perhaps also a British loan-word or related to the following word.

4. ON *pollr*, m. "a pool, a rounded bay with a narrow entrance."

The oldest forms of *Wampool* make it quite clear that the original word was *poll*, with short *ŏ*, not long *ō* or *u*, and furthermore that the modern form *-pool* is due to a later association with Mod. Engl. *pool* < OE *pōl*. But there are still three possible origins left, viz. nos. 2–4 above. The relationship of these words to one another is obscure. The picture is blurred and most confused, and there is no doubt that loans from Celtic to Germanic languages have taken place. It also seems likely that ON *pollr* is an Irish loan. In classical Icelandic it occurs only in the Laxdøla Saga, but it is a current word in Mod. Icel. and in West-Norwegian dialects. It does not belong to East-Norwegian, nor to Danish or Swedish dialects. Thus, the geographical distribution definitely indicates loan. The several words here concerned have not yet been satisfactorily treated. It is possible that a thorough study of the dialect-geographical conditions may throw light upon the intricate problems involved.[47]

It seems quite certain that the last element in *Wampool* is originally an Irish word. But even if ON *pollr* is an Irish loan, it is not necessary to classify the place-name **Vaðandi-pollr* as a hybrid formation, since it is quite possible that Irish *poll* had been incorporated into the language of the Norwegian vikings during their stay in Ireland and thus belonged to their language when they invaded northern England.

Smith, *Elem* , vol 2, p 69, says about ON *pollr* that it might enter into some place-names in northwestern England but also remarks that "there is no other evidence for its use in England." If my interpretation of *Wampool* is correct, this name more likely contains *pollr* than a British word, since hybrid formations occur only rarely in comparison with normal homogeneous compounds.

If the last element in *Wampool* is ON *pollr*, it most certainly refers to the earlier pool, an expansion of the river Wampool, by

[47] About different opinions on the etymology of the pertinent words see, for instance, Hj. Falk and A. Torp, *Norwegisch-Dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 856; A. Torp, *Nynorsk etymologisk ordbok*, p. 496; E. Ekwall, *English River-Names*, pp. 329f.; F. Fischer, *Die Lehnwörter des Altwestnordischen* (*Palaestra*, vol. 85), p. 23; A. Jóhannesson, *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 587, 1120; Smith, *Elem.*, 2. 68f. and 74; *New English Dictionary*, 7. 1112.

which the habitations Wampool and Powhill were situated The name later came to denote the whole river. If the element is British and the name a hybrid formation, it may have the meaning "a stream" and thus from the beginning have signified the whole river.

The old forms *Waðæn*, *Wathen-*, etc., of the first element show reduction of the two unstressed syllables in *Vaðandi-*, oblique form *Vaðanda-*. The last syllable has disappeared, probably to some extent due to a dissimilatory influence from the preceding *-ða-*. But the same development would have taken place without any dissimilatory influence, which is clear from other names such as *Crackenthorpe* (*Crakintorp* 1202) in Westmorland (probably from ON **Krakanda-þorp*[48]), *Crackenflatt* (*Craconflat* 1338) in Cumberland (probably from ON **Krakanda-flǫt*[49]), *Routenbeck* (*Rutenbec* 1195) in Cumberland (from ON **Rautandi-bekkr*[50]), etc.

In Gospatric's Writ occur at least two present participles, viz. *leofanð* (for *leofand*) and *byðann* (for *bydann*), which show the northern ME form in *-and*; cf. from Cumberland *le Rutandpull* 1287 < **Rautandi-pull* or *-poll(r)*.[51] It is only to be expected that the syllable *-and-* was reduced earlier than in appellatives in such a name as **Vaðan(di)-pollr*. The just mentioned form *Rutandpull* is somewhat surprising at such a late time, but it may be due to (the scribe's?) association with regular independent participles. As was said above, it is possible that the original of Gospatric's Writ had *Waðan*. If the form was *Waðæn*, the *-æ-* may reflect a reduced vowel which had not yet reached the later stage of *-ə-*.

On the basis of an original form **Vaðandi-pollr* the early forms *Wathe-* and *Wathel-* are easy to understand. The former are due to association with the verbal stem in ON *vaða* "to wade" and possibly to *vað*, n "a ford." Such forms as *Wathel-* could either be the result of assimilation of *n* to the *l* in the last element or of association with ON *vaðill*, m. "a ford."

Finally a word about the form *Poll Waðæn* in Gospatric's Writ which shows inversion of the two elements of the compound. There

[48] E. Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 122.
[49] *EPNS*, 21. 382.
[50] *EPNS*, 20. 25.
[51] *EPNS*, 21. 421; see also 22. xliii.
[52] See Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, *passim*.

is in Cumberland a large number of such names.[52] Normally, the chief element in such compounds is a personal name, e.g. *Becsnari* ca. 1203, "Snarri's brook," *Bek Troyte* ca. 1050 in Gospatric's Writ, "Troyte's brook."[53] In some cases a place-name is the main element, e.g. *Holmcultran* 1153, "the island or elevation belonging to or carrying the farm Cultram."[54] According to Ekwall, *Scand. and Celts*, pp. 16, 48, there are no certain examples of inverted compounds in which the chief element consists of an earlier name of the place itself, which seems to be a slight exaggeration. He mentions as possible instances *Poll Waðoen* and two other names, both of which may contain personal names. But Ekwall's remark brings up the question whether *Waðæn* could be a personal name. If so, the only possibility seems to be an ON **Vaðandi* "the wader," of the same type as *Stígandi* "the strider," *Vakkandi* "the loafer."[55] But there is no evidence of a byname **Vaðandi*, and the meaning of such a name would be less pregnant than that of other bynames ending in *-andi*. It is therefore likely that the form in Gospatric's Writ is due to association (by the scribe ?) with other names consisting of inversion compounds which contain *poll*. Such names are far from unfrequent in Cumberland, e.g. *Polgauer, Polneuton, Powburgh.*[56] *Waðan* (*-æn*) probably was associated with the Goidelic personal names ending in *-án*, some of which occur in inversion place-names, e.g. *Branán* in *Stanbranan, Cambán* in *Gillcambon*, etc.[57]

[53] Ekwall, *Scand. and Celts*, p. 18.
[54] Ekwall, *Scand. and Celts*, p. 26.
[55] Lind, *Binamn*, col. 361, 396.
[56] See *EPNS*, 22. 487.
[57] See *EPNS*, 22. 507.

Addendum: An excellent parallel, both formally and semantically, to *Wampool*, as I interpret it, is the Swedish place-name *Vanda* in Finland. According to T. E. Karsten in *Namn och bygd* 1933, p. 39, this name reflects an OSw. **Vadhande-ā*, meaning "the stream that may be forded."

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SIGNIFICANT CHARACTER NAMES IN ENGLISH DRAMA TO 1603

by

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ABSTRACT[1]

The names of characters with significant names such as *Lightborn, Pistol, Fastidious Brisk, Champerty* are analyzed in all available plays up to 1603, when representative modes of naming had become firmly established. The analysis of this material aims at doing several things that have not been done to date: gathering together separate and uncoordinated studies of significant names, reinterpreting them by the evidence of the text on which they were based, interpreting dramas which have never before been analyzed for significant names, and compounding these investigations into one historical survey, primarily to discover the origin and date of significant names in English drama, secondarily to explain the manner in which they were employed in their development. Evidence is sought for a definite and meaningful relationship between a character and his name according to his description, occupation, characterization, function, and actions in the play.

The evidence shows that the significant name is nearly as old as English drama and native in origin. The first significant names in English drama date from about the middle of the fourteenth century, appearing in the vernacular mysteries and moralities. At first crude devices of derision, invective, and name-calling, their aim was to belittle character as well as describe it. The same usage continued until about the middle of the sixteenth century, when two innovations occurred — their use to describe with more fullness some essential quality of character, good or bad, and to enliven

[1] Weldon N. Niva, *Significant Character Names in English Drama to 1603.* University of Pennsylvania, Ph. D. dissertation, 1959. Published by University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Mich. Copyright 1959. — Dr. Matthew W. Black, Supervisor.

dialogue with verbal play on names. Both these developments were largely the result of the reading of Latin comedy in the schools and of English translations and adaptations of Latin comedy. The classics contributed to the development of the English significant name by refining, increasing, and enriching its employment.

English humanist dramatists coined their own significant names, not only for minor characters and comic roles as has been traditional, but in imitation of Latin comedy for principal characters playing serious roles as well. After 1550, when school drama based on classical comedy made its influence felt, there is a burgeoning of significant names, many of them Greek and Latin, given to characters more fully developed than before. Chapman's names foreshadow Jonson's, but Jonson brought about the triumph of classical significant names in English drama, thoroughly assimilating them. Credit goes primarily to Jonson not only for the use of classical names in major and minor roles, but for systematically fitting whole casts with "humor" names that brought name and characterization into the closest possible relationship, setting a fashion recognizably Jonsonian for two centuries of English comedy.

With the development of regular comedy after *Ralph Roister Doister* verbal play on the meaning of significant names increases in quantity and complexity. Lyly uses them with refined wit. Peele's wordplay borrows from Plautus. Greene and Chapman have extended plays on names. Jonson exploits the comic possibilities of his names with the most deliberate thoroughness. Marston is a trenchant ironist. Dekker, Heywood, and Middleton show a surprising facility in wordplay and wit, but the master of verbal play during the last dozen years of this period is Shakespeare.

The English significant name is from its earliest origin comic or satiric, an obvious signal for laughter; the foreign name is more likely to be used for serious or tragic characters. In either case the audience expects a significantly named character in some way to live up to his name, and this anticipation lends drama the vital quality of interest.

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Book Reviews

Gösta Franzen: *Runö Ortnamn* (The Place-names of Runö). Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien. 33 (= Estlandssvenskarnas folkliga kultur 4). (Uppsala 1959.)

The settlement of Runö, a small island in the gulf of Riga, was the southernmost of the Swedish settlements in Estonia. The island was settled by Swedish colonists probably during the 13th century, or a little earlier, and, due to its isolation, the population had remained Swedish throughout the centuries. They had preserved their old culture, and their dialect was a very archaic and interesting form of Swedish. However, during World War II conditions in Estonia became unbearable, and the entire Estonian-Swedish population of about 6,400 persons, including the small group of less than 300 Runö-Swedes, were evacuated to Sweden. The Runö dialect is now disappearing, and will soon, along with Runö place-names, exist only in books and records.

Fortunately, the place-names of Runö had been recorded before World War II, and are now presented and interpreted by Gösta Franzen in his book, *Runö Ortnamn*. Practically all the names that have been preserved in living tradition or older sources have been included in this book. The majority of the approximately 1000 names have never occurred in earlier written or printed sources. The place-name material presented stems partly from Gösta Franzen's own records from 1939, and partly from collections in the Swedish Dialect Archive in Uppsala.

The names reflect the daily life and work of the Runö islanders throughout the centuries, and include material of considerable interest because of the rather unique conditions that prevailed on the island where ancient traditions and complex principles regulated fishing, sealing and the ownership and use of land. Gösta Franzen's book will certainly be of great value for the study of the cultural history, sociology and folklore of this former outpost between Swedish and East-Baltic culture.

From a linguistic point of view the place-name material is very interesting in so far as it adds to our knowledge of the development

of the peculiar Runö dialect. But otherwise the material shows no great deviation from the common medieval place-name material from Sweden proper. Unique in the Runö dialect is the word *lubb* m. used as a place-name element in the meaning "grove." Loan words in the place-names are surprisingly few. The name Runö is probably of Lettish origin: *Rūnô-mô*, "seal-island," and Lettish elements are also found in *suns*, gen. *suna*, "dog" in the name *Sunagrundet*, a certain rock in the sea; and *plūksnas*, "tow, flax," in the name *Plunschvägen*. Of Estonian origin are elements like *jahu*, "flour," *joom*, "reef," *kink*, "hillock," *laan*, "wood, plain," *tihvel*, "potato."

The material is well organized and expertly presented by Gösta Franzen. Following an informative introduction giving the historical and linguistic background, the names are grouped in separate chapters according to the nature of the localities named. Whenever needed detailed topographical information concerning a name is given, and the many fine and convincing linguistic interpretations bear witness to the authors's thorough knowledge of the Runö dialect in particular, and of Scandinavian linguistics in general. The index-forms of the names adhere to standard Swedish, and differ in many cases considerably from the local forms in Runö dialect. This seems reasonable, as it is most unlikely that the local forms will ever be used again. The book also includes a good summary in English.

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Ch'en Cheng-hsiang, *The Place-names of Taiwan*. Research Report no. 104, Fu-min Geographical Institute of Economic Development, Taipei, 1960, 22 pages [in Chinese].

This study is one of the side results of a larger study of all Taiwanese settlements, their history and their population, which will soon be published. It is one of the first Chinese contributions to a field which thus far has been neglected by Chinese and Western scholars.

Chinese settlement on Taiwan did not start much before 1600, and the oldest geographical text of 1603 contains only 12 names of Chinese settlements. Today, 17,800 names are found on the maps,

and the total population of the island is about 11 millions of which only some 180,000 are aborigines. Taiwanese place names differ in many ways from Chinese place names and reflect strongly the conditions of settlement. In general, settlement in the South is more compact and in the North more in the form of small hamlets of a few houses only. Place names are more repetitious in Taiwan than in other areas of China: of the 17,800 names only 7,700 are different in form; there are 42 "New Villages (Hsin-chuang)," 30 "Foot of the Mountains" (Shan-chio), 29 "Creek Islands" (Ch'i-chou).

In general, Chinese place names can be divided into a general part and a specific part of the name, and a place name has, therefore, normally two words, sometimes more than two words. Among the specific parts of the names, the most common words are "Great" (392 times), "Lower" (187), "New" (170), "Three" (163), "East" (117), "South" (133), "Top" (128), and "Central" (125). East and South are regarded as lucky names and are, therefore, more common than "West" (83 times) and "North" (90). The word "Lower" is more common only because there are several words which all designate "Upper," such as "Upper" (63 times), "Top" (128) and "Head" (39).

The generic part most often indicates geographical features or the form of the settlement. The use of family names in place names is relatively rare in Taiwan, while it is quite common in some parts of the Mainland.

Many place names of Taiwan are identical with place names in the original home of the settlers, i.e. mostly with Fukienese names. The settlers called their new home with the same name as that of their old home. This custom is quite old and was found by myself in a study of early medieval place names in a colonial area of Northwest China. Other names are new names, given by Fukienese settlers in their own dialect. Such names made no sense to later officials who spoke no Fukienese and who then tried to change the names into more meaningful forms. In such cases, the names show a great number of variant forms, until finally one of them was officially accepted. In some cases, the settlers gave names which described geographical features correctly, but which did not sound nice, such as "Stinking Water." Such names were later changed into more proper forms such as "Fragrant Water."

Many names were originally aboriginal names. When the Chinese took over settlements of the aborigines, they either translated the aboriginal names into Chinese, or they transcribed the sound of the aboriginal name into Chinese in such a way that the Chinese words made some sense to them, such as "Beat the dog" (Ta-kou), now Kao-hsiung, or "Monkey" (A-hou), now Ping-tung. There are also many cases, in which the Japanese transcribed a native name into Japanese in such a way that it made sense in Japanese — which also usually resulted in a Chinese name which made some sense. When several settlements grew so that they merged into one larger place, a new name was given which often consisted of the first part of the name of one, and the second part of the name of another settlement. Or, if a place grew, it was divided into "Old" and "New" or "East" and "West." Settlements of the time of Coxinga (17th century) often reflect in their names his policy of establishing military colonies ("ying"); settlements of the early 18th century can be recognized by components which indicate the acreage of the settlement ("chia" or "chang-li").

The small book of Prof. Ch'en is, as these brief remarks may indicate, a source of information for the linguist, the geographer and the historian. Prof. Ch'en has shown that this field has great possibilities and we hope that similar work may soon be done for other areas of China.

Wolfram Eberhard

University of California, Berkeley

Wheeling: A West Virginia Place-Name of Indian Origin. By Delf Norona. (Publication No. 1, Oglebay Institute, Wheeling). Moundsville, W. Va.: West Virginia Archaeological Society, 1958. 38 Pages. ($1.00).

Mr. Norona's booklet is one of the most thorough studies that have ever been made of a single United States Algonquian place name. Citing almost a score of maps and about twice as many historical documents, the author gives the genesis of *Wheeling* (PA **wīl* 'head' + **-enki* 'at') from 1749, when the locality was called

Kanonuara (Cf. [Mohawk] *kanũ·wara*? 'skull'), through 1751, when Christopher Gist knew it as *Wealin or Scalp Creek*, to the present day.

In his discussion of the variant Iroquoian forms (*Kanonuara, Kanonouaora, Ranonouara*), Mr. Norona cites Mr. M. H. Deardorff, of Warren, Pa. It is shown that the variant *Ranonouara*, though one would expect a locative suffix, may mean 'his skull.' The Iroquoian name and the Algonquian name both have approximately the same meaning ('Skull,' 'At the skull'); it is likely that each represents the same colonial incident (the beheading at this place of a white intruder). It should be commented that the Iroquoian variant *Ranonouara* may have arisen owing to the misreading of a *K* for an *R*. It should be stated, besides, that there is no need to explain the *wh* of *Wheeling*, since it is likely that many English speakers of the eighteenth century pronounced *w* and *wh* alike [w].

This is a sincere study, and it deserves praise for its detail and completeness.

Hamill Kenny

University of Maryland

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Notes and Comments

Addendum to Discussion of LEHIGH

In a more recent communication than that referred to in "More Information on Michigan Prairie Names" (*Names*, March, 1960, pp. 53–56) Mr. Virgil J. Vogel has the following to say on the question of *Lehigh*: "I would not place too much reliance on Espenshade's explanation of *Lehigh*. A. F. Chamberlain, in Hodge (I, 763), says that *Lehigh does* come from a Delaware word for 'forks of a river' . . . [but] Heckewelder says, 'where there are forks' — without identifying it with either rivers or trails."

For Onomatologists Only

Credits for new members: Mamie Meredith (2); Demetrius Georgacas (4); Elsdon Smith (1); Lalia Boone (1); Margaret Bryant (2); F. W. Bradley (3); Arthur Minton (1); Wilbur G. Gaffney (1); Maurice A. Mook (1); John S. Caponnetto (1).

Among the new members: Dr. John P. Pauls, 3422 Lyleburn Place, Cincinnati 20, Ohio, is interested in Slavic names. Professor Laurence C. Thompson, Professor of Linguistics and Russian, University of Washington, has done research in place names, Indo-European linguistics, Southeast Asian languages (especially Vietnamese), and in the American Indian languages. Mr. Martin Bury, who was persuaded to join the Society by Professor Maurice Mook, is interested in the names and models of automobiles. He has published an entertaining and informative book, *Rolling Wheels* (1953), in which a chapter is devoted to names. Mrs. Mildred R. Bennett, President of the Willa Cather Pioneer Memorial, is rewriting and revising her book, *The World of Willa Cather*. The University of Nebraska Press plans to publish the new edition sometime in 1961. Mr. B. L. Trippett, Advertising Department, National Cash Register Company, Dayton 9, Ohio, has collected banking terms and would like to hear from anyone who has been working on such material. Professor James Alexander Thorburn, Department of English, University of Texas, El Paso, Texas, has written about place names, family names, and given names. Mr. Robert Klymasz is doing research in Slavic surnames in Canada.

Among the members: Dean E. T. Grether, Graduate School of Business Administration, Berkeley 4, California, whose administrative duties would seem sufficient, has also maintained an interest in, and files on, the historical development of trade marks and trade names. Mr. James E. Alatis is now working for the State Department. His excellent article, "The Americanization of Greek Names," appeared in the September, 1955, issue of *Names*. Other articles by him will be published soon. Professor Bertram L. Hughes is well along on his book on the contributions of the Cambrians (the Welsh) to the development and growth of the United States. Professor G. B. Droege recently acted as our representative at the

Naamkunde Symposium in Amsterdam. Dean Roland Dickison read a paper, "Arkansas College Names and a Cultural Inference," at the recent University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference.

Mrs. Byrd H. Granger's revision of Will C. Barnes' *Arizona Place Names* has been published by the University of Arizona Press. It contains more than 7,200 entries, as against the original 3,000, and has complete and up-to-date information on all the old and new Army posts, the Wells Fargo and other stage stations, the post offices of the past and present, and hundreds of Indian names and places, along with a pronouncing guide. All entries are keyed to the 43 new maps prepared by Robert T. O'Haire of the Arizona Bureau of Mines. Mrs. Granger traveled all over the state as she gathered new information of the kind that she felt certain Barnes would have added were he alive to do so. The book, which is $8^1/_2$-by-11 inches and bound in gold cloth, with blue letterings and a crimson device, retails for $10.

Professor T. M. Pearce, our President, has been doing research in the Folger library. Professor Thomas P. Field, Department of Geography, University of Kentucky, will leave for an extended trip to Australia beginning June 1, 1960. Professor Field's research and collecting in Kentucky place names is extensive, including 32,000 card file entries and several papers. Does anyone know Mr. Benedict Kwan So Kwan? An important communication is awaiting him in the *ANS* Secretary's office at Youngstown University.

The United States government has assigned our Editor the task of compiling a Greek-English dictionary, a great deal of the work to be done in Athens. Congratulations, Professor Georgacas!

Professor Erwin G. Gudde's new edition of *California Place Names*, a publication of the University of California Press, appeared last spring.

Sputnik Linguistics

"Sputnik Started It: A Scholarnik Talks about Offshootniks" is the title of an article by Ruth Dunbar for the *Chicago Sun-Times* (January 2, 1960), in which she discusses Professor J. B. Rudnyćkyj's research on "sputnik linguistics." (Our readers will recall Arthur Minton's article, "*Sputnik* and Some of Its Offshootniks," in the June, 1958, issue of *Names*.) As the reporter points out, only two

years since sputnik sailed into orbit the English language has accumulated some 200 new "niks." After sputnik came "lunik," "kaputnik," and "beatnik," and then "nudnik" (a boring professor), "phoodnik" (a nudnik with a Ph. D.), and "popcornik" (a street seller of popcorn). According to Professor Rudnyćkyj, nudnik and phoodnik are used on many college campuses, and popcornik has turned up in Canada.

Among the neologisms are "splitnik" (the American house sent to the Moscow exhibition last year: it was split through the middle to give Russians a better look), "dognik," "whuffnik," "mutnik" (the second Russian sputnik that carried a dog), "dudnik," "flopnik," "goofnik," "sputternik," "hoaxnik," "kaputnik" and "pfftnik" (for America's first unsuccessful attempts to launch a satellite).

The following factors, Mr. Rudnyćkyj believes, have contributed to the rapid spread of "nikitis" in American English: the linguistic freedom and tendency in Canada and the United States to invent words, which has led to such creations as "tigernik," used in Winnipeg to describe a man watching a tiger; the nickname, "Nick," for Nicolas — thus, a sick Nick could be a "sicknick"; the phonetic similarity of the second component in such words as *bottleneck* — "bottlenik" was used when the American sputnik was in a bottleneck of production; and the many Slavic names which end in *-nik*, such as Rudnik and Reznik. In Professor Rudnyćkyj's opinion only a few of these terms — especially sputnik, lunik and beatnik — are likely to remain in American English long enough to work their way into a dictionary.

Murder and Onomatology

The April 9, 1960, issue of *The Nation* contains an article by George R. Stewart entitled "Murder and Onomatology," in which he tells of his tantalizing and fruitless search for a person bearing the name, D'Avious, in connection with the Motherwell murder trial. When Motherwell claimed that he was innocent and that someone named D'Avious had commited the murder, and when the latter individual could not be located, the California Attorney General's office asked Professor Stewart to give them whatever help he could. After consulting with Romance language experts and searching through numerous telephone books, Mr. Stewart turned

up one and only one good possibility — someone named Davios in Manhattan, who was not otherwise involved in the trial. This Davios [from Greek Δαβίδ, "David"? — D. J. G.] was born on the Greek island of Tenos. "His name may be Italian rather than Greek in origin, since the Venetians have exercised a strong influence on many of the Aegean islands. He had told the FBI agent that he was, as far as he knew, the only person by that name in the United States." The various forms considered by Professor Stewart include D'Avious, D'Avios, Avious, Avios, and D'Avis. However, his own opinion is that the name was coined, possibly starting with the common name Davis, or with the word *devious*.

Place-Names, Family and Baptismal (Font) Names

Professor C. H. Handschin of Oxford, Ohio, who has written an article that will appear in *Names*, gives lectures on place-names, family and baptismal (font) names. As he comments, "We in the United States soon discontinued naming places for royalty and nobility, and named a place for 1) the lay of the land; 2) its most striking feature (subjective or objective); 3) the former home of its first settlers or for one of his womenfolk; 4) a national hero; 5) a good omen; 6) a political or moral ideal; 7) a hope or a prayer; 8) a Biblical name or ideal; 9) its chief agricultural or industrial product; 10) its chief animal, or tree, etc.; or, we retained its Indian name."

For anyone desiring to improve his retention of names of persons he meets, Professor Handschin makes the following suggestions: Get the name clearly and the spelling; ask the person about it — his name is "his dearest possession." Speak the name several times while you talk with the person. Get any linguistic information on the origin of the name that the individual can give you; at least find out what country it comes from and what variant spellings are known. Tie up some characteristic of the person with the name: White was so named for his white looks; Cruickshank, for his bowed legs; Honest, for his honesty, etc. Rehearse the name a number of times that night before going to sleep. (Remembering names is the secret of success of many great men and women.) If possible, tell what frequency the name has in the United States. Mr. Handschin writes, "United States names are among the hardest to interpret

because the immigration officer didn't [always] understand, and wrote what he thought he heard. Next, neighbors had the same difficulty. Often the family or a son decided to change the spelling, to make it easier for everyone, especially for the children in school and elsewhere. What a curse a ridiculous name is for a child! I often change such a name for a family by changing a single letter. The community bestowed many [names] as nicknames or for a person's outstanding trait ... [Of] the 125 United States top family names collected and studied by [Handschin] ... the top eleven are Smith, 21,175 times; Johnson, 15,700; Miller, 13,325; Brown, 12,850; Anderson, 10,075; Williams, 9,875; Meyer (several spellings), 9,400; Jones, 9,200; Davis, 8,724; Cohen, 7,400; Wilson, 7,400; and so on down to the 125th — Carrol, 2,000."

Reprints

Mr. Virgil J. Vogel has recently published two onomastic articles: "Some Illinois Place-Name Legends (*Midwest Folklore*, Vol. IV, No. 3, Fall, 1959), and "The Origin and Meaning of 'Missouri'" (*Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, April, 1960). A paper read by our present Secretary, Prof. Kelsie B. Harder, at the 1958 annual *ANS* meeting in New York, entitled "Charactonyms in Faulkner's Novels," was printed in the *Bucknell Review* (Vol. VIII, No. 3, May, 1959).

Membership Committee

Dean Roland Dickison of Arkansas College (Batesville, Ark.) has been added to the Membership Committee as Regional Representative for Region G, which includes Arkansas, Missouri and Oklahoma.

ANS Archives

Through the suggestion and aid of Mr. George Jones, Librarian, Youngstown University, Youngstown, Ohio, the archives of the Society are being established in a special area set aside in the library for books, manuscripts, offprints, reprints, clippings, and any other material pertaining to names. All such material donated by the Society will be marked as Name Society property, and all material

sent to the Secretary for deposit in the archives will be acknowledged. Please send your contributions for the archives to the Secretary, Kelsie B. Harder.

Contributions to the archives have been sent in by Demetrius J. Georgacas (8 items), George C. Grise (1), Meredith F. Burrill (1), Virgil J. Vogel (1), Claude H. Neuffer (1), and Mamie Meredith (12).

Place-Name Literature

Requests for information concerning place-name literature are now being answered by Mr. Richard B. Sealock, Librarian, Kansas City Public Library, Ninth and Locust Streets, Kansas City, Missouri.

The Secretary

The Secretary needs information concerning any theses or dissertations written under the direction of members of the Society. Professor T. M. Pearce directed an excellent dissertation by Edith H. Peterson, "*Symmetric History*": *A Study of Thought Patterns in the Prose Works of Thomas Hardy*, in which personal names and place-names in the Hardy canon are discussed and analyzed at length.

The Secretary would also appreciate any news items, such as the reading of papers by members, publishing of articles and books, or any other information, whether pertaining to names or other scholarly activity.

1959 Program Notes

The following informal notes were made by the Vice-Chairman of the Membership Committee during the 1959 *ANS* meeting in Chicago to record some of the highlights of the Program and, where there was discussion, to note some of the comments on the papers.

Among other things in his talk on "Street Names in Baghdad," Mr. Jack A. Dabbs pointed out that there are many streets but few accepted street names in Baghdad: instead, the inhabitants mostly use well-known buildings as points of reference. The most famous thoroughfare is Rashid Street, but the street itself probably does not

go back to Harun-al-Rashid; it was probably constructed between 1917 and 1932. *Discussion*: Professor T. M. Pearce commented that "85'N3'1" is a typical street address for that area, the "85" signifying the district. Professor Harold B. Allen remarked that in Cairo legal names are not known to taxi drivers — the names change overnight.

Professor E. C. Ehrensperger raised a troublesome question in his paper, "To Hyphenate or Not to Hyphenate," regarding whether or not the term *place-name* (as a noun) should be hyphenated. His tentative conclusion is that Europeans tend to hyphenate but that American scholars tend to leave out; however, it is used in popular literature. Dr. Philip B. Gove, General Editor of the G. & C. Merriam Co., informed Mr. Ehrensperger that there was a two-to-one preference for hyphenation in the Merriam Webster files, which represent a good cross section of popular usage. *Comment*: It was recommended that the Editor of *Names* either take a firm stand on the matter, or at least require each contributor to the journal to be consistent in his own work.

In "'New Light' on 'Old Zion'": A Study of the Names of White and Negro Baptist Churches in New Orleans," Mr. G. Thomas Fairclough observed that New Orleans is the largest city in the United States that lists colored churches separately. He said that street names are the most popular element used in church names, and that white Baptist churches are more conservative than colored. Among the Negro churches in the city *Zion* is the most popular component occurring in mixed name groups. One church has the name, Amo-Zion; could it have some connection with Amazon? According to Mr. Fairclough, otherworldliness is the keynote to these names. *Comment*: Professor Maurice A. Mook pointed out the ethnic contribution to names here. See now *Names*, June, 1960, 75–86.

"Topographic Names on the Gulf Coast of Florida," the paper read by Mr. E. Wallace McMullen, was limited in scope to four counties in the Tampa area. *Discussion*: Shakit Creek (in the Sarasota region), one of the names included in the paper, was compared to Shake-Rag Creek (on the east coast [of Fla.], near Melbourne) by Mrs. Lalia P. Boone. Professor John C. McGalliard inquired about the pronunciation of the "x" in Saxasota, an early variant form of Sarasota; there was no information on this particular subject. Professor Demetrius J. Georgacas asked if the last element in

Sarasota could be the same as that in Minnesota; but Mr. McMuller replied that in this instance such an explanation is doubtful because of the great geographical separation of the two names.

Mr. Wilbur G. Gaffney's "A Potential Influence of Given Names on Character and Occupation" stirred up considerable interest, not only at the annual meeting but also in newspapers throughout the United States (see "For Onomatologists Only" in *Names*, June 1960). In the discussion following the reading of the paper Professor Kemp Malone agreed in principle with Mr. Gaffney, citing as an example a bishop named Noble Cilly Powell. Professor Francis L. Utley mentioned the president of Ohio State University, whose name is Novice Fawcett.

Professor Ruth L. Pearce's paper on "Welsh Place-Names in Southeastern Pennsylvania" dealt with names like Bala-Cynwyd (Bala is a place-name in Wales, and means 'efflux, outlet"), Bryn Mawr (a name brought over from the eastern part of Wales), Bryn Athyn (which means "hill of cohesion"), Uwchlan (a partial translation of the English "upland"), Tredyffrin ("town in the valley"), Duffryn Mawr ("great valley" — now called Green Tree), and Balwyn (from Bala and Wynfield). *Discussion*: Someone in the audience mentioned Lampeter and Tredyffrin, which he said had been "transplanted" from Wales, and added that Uwchlan was earlier than Bala-Cynwyd.

In "First Names Among the Amish," Mr. Maurice Mook, limiting his treatment to male first names, listed John, Daniel, and Jacob as the commonest names, in the order of preference. He also said that "Moses" was usually called "Moz" among the Amish. *Comment*: Mr. Mook commented further that the Amish came from Anabaptists in Switzerland and the Palatinate who later became Mennonites; the Mennonites consider the Amish Mennonites, but the Amish don't — both are right.

(About twenty-five people were present at this point in the program, at 3:00 p.m., an increase in attendance over previous years.)

An interesting discussion followed Mr. Sterling A. Stoudemire's "Columbus as a Giver of Names." Professor Dabbs urged similar studies which he felt would throw a good deal of light on history. He also wondered why Columbus didn't use the names already there in the areas of his discovery, since the explorer knew he was entering a high civilization.

In "Religious Place-Names of New Mexico" Mr. T. M. Pearce said that Dawn Lake is the same as Blue Lake, and that both are translations of an Indian name; Bible Top Hill has a depression at the top; San Miguel Mountain also has the name, St. Michael Mountain; and Anglo-Saxon influence is exemplified by Hell Canyon, Hell Mesa, and Hell's Hacienda. *Comment*: Mr. Dabbs added remarks on the name Trinity, connected with some incident related to days of feasts, which is located on the White Sands Proving Grounds.

According to Edwin H. Bryan, whose paper entitled "Surnames in Hawaii" was read by Eugene Muench, some Hawaiian names are derogatory — for example, the translation of two of them are "deceitful," and "the one who shakes with fat." However, derogatory names form only one of the eight categories into which Mr. Bryan divided Hawaiian surnames.

(*Please note*: Omissions of references to other papers or other points of discussion in the program merely signify that the Vice-Chairman was unable to write down as much information as he would have wished. If there are any errors in the foregoing material, it is hoped that they are the result of unintentional mistakes in transcription.)

Worth-while Projects

Professor Harry R. Warfel once remarked that the United States Patent Office is a veritable gold mine of onomastic information. Is anyone interested in tackling a governmental agency for such a purpose? Also, Mr. Elsdon Smith suggests that a good article could be written on the nicknames of our most current celebrities (that is, those since 1955, when Shankle's *American Nicknames* was published.)

Acknowledgments

For their contributions to this installment of "For Onomatologists Only" special thanks are due Messrs. Kelsie Harder, Elsdon Smith, Demetrius Georgacas, J. B. Rudnyćkyj, and George R. Stewart.

Dr. Burrill Becomes Secretary of the A.A.G.

Recently Dr. Meredith F. Burrill, a former President of the *ANS* became Secretary of the Association of American Geographers (A.A.G.). The principal publications of the A.A.G. are (1) its quarterly journal, *The Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, for research papers of high quality, now in its 49th year (2) its bi-monthly news journal, *The Professional Geographer*, which carries short articles and various news items; and (3) monographs. Among his other assignments Dr. Burrill has held teaching positions at Lehigh University and the University of Oklahoma. For more than fifteen years he has been Chairman of the Board on Geographic Names in the United States Department of the Interior. Dr. Burrill, who has contributed several articles to *Names*, is particularly interested in the distribution of topographic terms in the United States.

E. W. M.

Indian Place Names in South America and the Antilles. II.

NILS M. HOLMER

Of names ending in *-KOCHA* 'lake,' — in addition to the above-mentioned Lago Cocha, in southern Colombia (cf. Note 10) — we notice: Catacocha, a place in southern Ecuador (cf. below); Yaguacocha ('bloody lake'), a small lake in Ecuador (cf. Yahuarcocha, in Peru, and Note [28]); Chinchaycocha, a considerable lake in Peru, to the south of Cerro de Pasco and not far from Junín (the name means 'the lake of *Chinchaysuyu*,' that is Peru north of Cuzco; the lake is alternatively called Lago de Junín); Morococha, also near Junín, Peru (from Kechua *muru* 'spotted'); Lauricocha, another lake in Peru; Parinacochas, an Andean lake in the Peruvian province of Ayacucho (supposed to be from Kechua *parihuana* 'flamingo,' which is, however, doubtful); Pacocha, a place near the coast in southern Peru. Along with the *kocha*-names we may mention those in *-kota*, which are of Aymara origin (*quta* is the Aymara form of the Kechua *quća* or *q'uća*): Parinacota, in northern Chile (Tacna), seems quite identical with the Peruvian Parinacochas, quoted above, but is a mountain name (cf. below; there is, however, a lake Parinacota in Oruro, Bolivia); further: Río Cotagaita, which is in Bolivia (Potosí). — A river name of quite a different kind is the Bolivian Misque (Mizque, Mixque), an affluent of the Río Grande (the Guapay); this name, which represents Kechua *misk'i* 'sweet,' clearly refers to the fresh water of this river.

South of the countries of the Kechua and Aymara Indians begins the land of the Araucanians, where the river names end in *-co* or

[28] With this name cf. Yahuarcocha ('bloody lake'), in Cajabamba, Peru. By 'blood' is evidently meant some kind of 'earth' or 'mud,' perhaps 'lava'; cf. the use of Kechua *wira* 'fatness' (formally = Aymara *wila* 'blood') in the name Viracocha (*wiraquća*), which might be translated 'lava sea' or the like.

-llacu (the latter rather = 'lukewarm water'). The first name of importance which we meet south of Santiago, Chile, is Curicó ('Black Water'), now the name of a Chilean province and provincial capital, the latter standing on a small river (probably the original Curicó); further: Chanco, a coastal place north of La Concepción in Chile; Arauco, a place just south of La Concepción (also the name of a province); Quidico, a place further south on the coast; Temuco, a place inland — it is now an airport — on a river in the province of Cautín, of which it is the capital; Lago Ranco, an Andean lake above Valdivia, Chile; Covuncó, an affluent of the Neuquen, Argentina, and also the name of a fort on the same river; Camarico, a place on the San Juan river in the province of San Juan, Argentina;[29] Remecó ('water of the rushes'?), a place in the southern part of the Argentinian territory of Pampa (for a time officially named Eva Perón, but now again La Pampa); Luancó ('guanaco river'), the name of rivers in southern Argentina and Chile. According to Lazaro Flury, the Argentinian river name Neuquen means a 'reach (in a river)'; for the meaning and occurrences of this term, see Ivan Lind, *Varadouro* (p. 17). — Beside these names, we find lake names such as: Nahuel Huapí ('the tiger *huapi*'), a well-known name in southern Argentina (on the banks of this lake is the famous holiday resort of Bariloche); Colhué Huapí, a lake in the province of Chubut, Argentina. For the Araucanian *huapi*, see further below. *Lauquen* rather corresponds to 'sea'; it appears in Chadí Lauquen ('salt lake') and Urre Lauquen (or Lago Amargo), lakes formed by the Río Salado, an affluent of the Río Colorado in the province of Eva Perón (territory of Pampa);[30] Trarú Lauquen ('turkey buzzard lake'), now the name of a fort in the same province; Luan Lauquen ('guanaco sea'), another fort in the same province (there are salty lakes all around); Trenque Lauquen ('dry lake,' according to Flury), a place in the province of Buenos Aires; Cari Lauquen ('green lake'), a lake in the territory of Río Negro, Argentina.

[29] *Camarico* is however, a familiar Spanish American word, used in several senses; possibly the place name is originally Indian and assimilated to a Spanish form, according to what we have said introductorily.

[30] These evidently are salty lakes like the many *salinas* found in these parts of South America.

In this connection certain peculiarities of a semantic nature, pertaining to the Amerindian languages, must necessarily be taken into consideration. As we have remarked by way of introduction, the native concepts do not by any means always cover exactly those to which we are accustomed. We have noticed above how a distinction is made in river and lake names between fresh and salty or stagnant water (or between 'potable' and 'non-potable' water). The former category - in the first place the rivers — constituted an important element in the life of the Indians and served many purposes: the fetching of drinking water, provision of fresh-water fish, washing and bathing, etc.; further they were an excellent means of communication. Other waters — the lakes and the sea — were just there; the Indians, although having by necessity once arrived by sea, ultimately from Asia, have since then (with a few notable exceptions) seldom been fond of sailing. The natural consequence of this has been that river names often contain an element which means 'water' *par excellence*, sometimes also 'drinking water' or 'drink' (we only have to point to the North American "Big Drink," used of the Mississippi, or 'drink' as a slang designation of 'river'). Other waters might not be well differentiated; they are all called 'seas' or' morasses,' but just as the English 'moor' or 'moorland,' which is originally 'marshy land' (AS *mór* being from the same root as Latin *mare*), is now used of any infertile tract of land, this also holds for the American Indian 'seas'; the names which we have translated by 'lake' or 'sea' above ought rather to be rendered by 'any waste or barren expanse,' land of no use to the Indians and avoided by them, hence, more or less, by the English 'moor.' In the Cuna language in Panama, the word *matta* means 'lake, puddle, plain'; the Cuna Indians, who are good sailors, have, however, another word when speaking of the 'sea' itself. Now we find a number of these names in mountain tracts where there are likely to be no 'seas' or 'lakes' in our sense.[31] Among these are: Cochabamba, a depart-

[31] Notice that this also holds for Europe: in southern France, at the very foot of the Pyrenees, stands a place Itxassou, meaning 'the sea' (in Basque *itxaso*); in the Spanish provinces of Guipúzcoa and Navarre we find places named Ichaso (of the same meaning). For references to these latter, the author is much obliged to Luis Michelena, who also is of the same opinion as to their etymology and it need not be said here that Michelena's opinion weighs heavy in these matters.

mental capital in Bolivia (the city stands in the middle of a plain, now cultivated and fertile, surrounded by mountains; literally the name, of course, means 'lake plain', but a more exact translation would no doubt be just 'the plain'; cf. Note 31, above); Catacocha, a village in southern Ecuador, also in the mountains (Kechua *q'ata* means a 'mountain slope' and occurs in several names, e.g., Catamarca; cf. below); Soiroccocha, an over 16,000 foot high Andean peak in Peru; finally we have the above-mentioned Parinacota, which is the name of a mountain in northern Chile.

Conversely, *pampa* ('plain') may as well refer to 'morasses' and 'waters.' A large expanse in southern Bolivia is called Pampa Salada 'the salty plain.' This at one time must have been a lake, similar to Lago Coipasa and Lago Poopó to the north of it. Urubamba (that is *-pampa*) is the name of an affluent of the Ucayali in Peru; the name evidently refers to an entire region of the desolate type called *pampa*, including the river itself; notice that a mountain range above is called Sierra (or Cordillera) Vilcabamba, while the river below it — as a matter of fact the upper course of the Urubamba — is the Vilcamayo. Similarly we have Riobamba in central Ecuador (once evidently a river name). A whole Sub-Andean mountain tract in northern Chile, originally forested, is called Pampa de Tamarugal (that is, the 'mimosa plain'; it generally rises above 3,000 feet); cf. further below regarding mountain names. Analogously, some river names in Peru end in *-pata* (or *-pada*; from Kechua *pata* 'bank, slope,' etc.) and are therefore rather names of something else than the river itself: Marcapata, a river and place in Peru; Pilcopata, a river; Cosñipata ('smoky river *or* bank', also called Yanamayu), another Peruvian river (Cuzco); Tambopata, a place in Peru, etc. — Regarding the above-mentioned Araucanian *huapi*, which is generally interpreted as 'island,' we may say that it is not necessarily an 'island' surrounded by water; in some cases it just denotes any isolated tract, as one among mountains, a 'plain' or 'nook,' and it is actually used as a designation of at least two important *lakes* in southern Argentina, *viz.* the above-mentioned Nahuel Huapí and Colhué Huapí (*'caña* nook'? also called Lago Colhué).

We have said that the rivers were excellent means of communication. In some Indian languages 'river' and 'way' are almost

synonyms.[32] We find in some parts of Brazil river names ending in -(*r*)*ape*, which may be identified with the Guarani word for 'way' (*tape*, of which the stem is -*ape*; cf. *ka'aguy rape* 'jungle way'). Such names are: Pacu-Igarapé (from Guarani *paku*, a Brazilian fresh-water fish) and Macu-Igarapé, rivers in the Colombia-Brazil borderland; Igarapé-Açu ('big Igarapé') and Igarapé-Mirim ('little Igarapé'), which now are known as cities in the state of Pará, Brazil (in these names we evidently have the Guarani word *ygarape* 'boat way,' a word used even in Brazilian Portuguese to denote a small navigable river; cf. Igara Paraná 'boat river,' in southeastern Colombia); Iguapé, a place in the Brazilian state of São Paulo, on a small river — the Ribeira — (perhaps from Guarani *ygue* 'mango'); Tapirapé, the name of a river in the northeast of the state of Mato Grosso (from Tupi *tapihyra* 'tapir'). In these names we may think of 'water ways' used when gathering mangoes, fishing the *pacu* or hunting the tapir, etc.

River names have, however, occasionally a more individual flavor. This holds especially for the Peruvian Rimac (on which stands the city of Lima, to which also it has given the name), the Apurimac (in central Peru) and possibly Rimachuma (for which see below). The Kechua *rimaq* means 'talking' and whether this element originally had reference to any particular sound (as produced by the waters)[33] or not, the fact still remains that at least one of these names, Apurimac ('the speaking lord'), indicates a personification of the river (cf. further below, regarding the mountain names). Rimachuma, a lake or swamp in northern Peru (between the lower Pastaza and Morona rivers), shows many variants of spelling on maps and in reference books,[34] yet it seems to be from the same stem as the preceding ones.

The mountain names are of quite a different type. The mountains were partly the abode of the gods or of spirits and therefore highly feared, partly hunting ground and in this latter sense not essentially distinguished in name from the woods (cf. Spanish *monte* 'moun-

[32] Cf. the author's *Some semantic problems in Cuna and Kaggaba*, p. 198.

[33] Cf. the Latin *loquor* ('I talk') and Horace' *lympha loquax* or 'talking water.'

[34] The following were noted: Rimachuma, Rimachumac, Rimachuna, Rimacheima, Rimacheimacocha and even Lagarto Rimachi.

tain' and 'wood').[35] The former were the *paramos*, the bleak high and inaccessible mountains (in Spanish often designed by the word *cerro*); the latter were the lower wooded mountains or sierras. No uniform name therefore exists for 'mountain' in the native toponymy. Let us begin with the names denoting hunting grounds. The most known one of these is likely to be the Chaco, which is a rather general designation for various areas in Bolivia, Paraguay and Argentina. The name is the Kechua word *chacu*, which simply means 'hunting' or 'beating for game.' It corresponds somewhat to the Brazilian *mato* (in general 'uncultivated land'), as in the name Mato Grosso (the latter entirely of Portuguese origin). These areas are not mountainous, but we mention them here on account of what we have said above regarding mountains and forests. The names in question do not, therefore, generally refer directly to the mountains or mountain chains themselves. In the eastern central part of Venezuela, between the rivers Paragua and Caroni, we find a mountain called Tonoro (or Cerro Tonoro), of which the name represents the Carib word for a 'bird' of the larger kind which is hunted; it is quite likely that this mountain name just refers to a place where birds are found or killed. Of the same type is Sierra Tapirapecó, on the border of Venezuela and Brazil, not far from the Río Negro; it is evidently from Tupi *tapihyra* 'tapir,' which were hunted there (cf. the river name Tapirapé, mentioned above). The Sierra de Amambaya (Serra de Amambaí) mountain chain in southern Brazil and Paraguay, a watershed between the Paraná and the Paraguay river basins, derives its name from the Guarani word *amambai*, which is the generic name of various ferns; it runs on southeastward into Sierra Maracajú (Serra de Maracaju), marking the border between Paraguay and Brazil. This name probably indicates the presence of a certain calabash tree, well known as it furnishes material for *maracas*; the tree is called *mbaraka* in Guarani (the use of its fruit shell as a musical instrument has had firm traditions, for *mbaraka* is also the Guarani name of a 'guitar').

Especially in Brazil, many original mountain names begin with the element Ita- (meaning 'stone' or 'rock' in Guarani); these, of course, are often not mountain names in our sense, but rather are to

[35] 'Mountain' and 'forest' are both called *ka'aguy* in Guarani, but no name with this element is registered in this study, whereas the Tupian *ka'a* (*kaha*) 'jungle,' etc., occurs frequently.

be considered here owing to their importance. First of all, there are places called just Itá ('the rock'; e.g., a place in Paraguay, a little east of Asunción, and also a city in São Paulo, Brazil); there is also an Itaí ('little rock'), a city in the same state in Brazil.[36] Itapiranga ('red-clay rock') is the name of a city in Amazonas and of another one in Santa Catarina, Brazil. Itamaracá is an island a little to the north of Recife (Pernambuco) in Brazil (for the meaning of the final element, compare what we have said of Sierra Maracajú, above). Among other names of this type we find: Itacoatiara, a city in Amazonas, Brazil (the last part of the name suggests Tupi *kuatiara* 'paint,' in a modern sense also 'writing' or 'book'); Itaituba, a city in the state of Pará, Brazil (for the last element, cf. further on); Itabaiana, a mountain and place in the state of Sergipe and of another one in Paraíba (the latter element seems derived from Portuguese *baía* 'bay'); Serra do Itapicuru (or Itapecuru), in Maranhão, Brazil – there are also cities and rivers in Maranhão and Bahia of the same name —, of which the latter part seems to be the Guarani *pikuru* 'agouti' (also used in Spanish, *picuro*); Itaparica, the name of a mountain, island and city in the state of Bahia; Serra do Itacambira, a mountain chain in Minas Gerais, Brazil (*kambi* is a Tupi word for 'monkey');[37] Itambé, an almost 6,000 foot high mountain in Bahia, Brazil (also the name of a city in the same state); Itabira, the name of a sierra and of a mountain top in the state of Minas Gerais; Itaperuna, a city in the state of Rio de Janeiro; Itaqui, a city in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil (in Guarani *ita ky* means 'grindstone' — the name may originally have designated a place where these were obtained); Itatí and Itaivatí, places in the Argentinian province of Corrientes (the former name probably means 'white rock,' the latter 'high rock'); Itararé, city and river in São Paulo, Brazil; Itapetininga, another city and river in São Paulo; Pico de Itatiaia, one of the highest peaks in Brazil, in Serra Mantequeira, Rio de Janeiro; Itapecerica, the name of places in Minas

[36] Itahim (or Itaim) is the name of a small affluent of the Parnahyba in Piauí, Brazil, and may perhaps contain the element *y* 'water' (cf. above). Otherwise, there are rivers, e.g., the Itu (in Rio Grande do Sul), of which the name is rather the designation of a 'rock,' etc. (*itu* means either a 'reef' or a 'precipice' in Guarani); also cf. the Kechua river names in *-pata* (originally 'river bank,' 'terrace' or the like).

[37] In the last names, Serra seems a mere translation into Portuguese of the Guarani Ita-.

Gerais and São Paulo, Brazil. A Tupian mountain name is also (Chapada or Chapadão da) Tabatinga, of which the meaning is undoubtedly 'white clay'; this is the name of a vast plain in Minas Gerais and also of a rather important place on the upper Amazon river and near the airfields of Leticia and Benjamin Constant (Amazonas).

The inaccessible mountains, those without importance for the hunters, are in the first place the lofty peaks of the mighty Andean chain and consequently in most cases named by Indians speaking languages of the Kechua type.[38] These languages are, as we have said, structurally closer to those of Asia and Europe and we find, for instance among the mountain names, more variation according to the principles with which we are acquainted. We have mentioned already that these mountains were often a source of fear to the Indians, owing to their being the supposed abode of evil spirits or gods — as a matter of fact the mountain and the god would presumably have been identical as far as the name goes. Thus we find in the mountain nomenclature in these parts clear traces of personification, that is, names which indicate personal characteristics. Among these we may mention names like Tata Sabaya ('Father Sabaya'), a high peak on the Chilean-Bolivian border (Sabaya is also the name of a place in Bolivia; considering the corruptions which often happen in names of Indian origin, it might even not be too rash to associate it with the Aymara equivalent of Kechua *supay* 'demon, devil'); of exactly the same type is Tata Jachura ('Father Jachura'), a volcano not far from the preceding one on the Chilean side of the border (the meaning of Jachura cannot so far be ascertained).

Personification is clearly involved in the names Aconcagua and Chimborazo. The former — long supposed to have been an extinct volcano, but in reality a granite formation on the Argentinian-Chilean border, in the southern central Andes —, the highest summit of the Andean chain, derives its name from two Kechua words: *aqu* 'sand' and *k'awa* 'the fringe of red wool, covering the forehead, in the headband (*llautu*) worn by the Incas'; it is conceivable that this

[38] We must remember here that Kechua itself has had an enormous influence on the surrounding languages and cultures and that Kechua names are widely spread all over western South America (cf. the Introduction to this study). Kechua loanwords are profusely found in Aymara and to some extent in many other neighboring languages, such as Araucanian, etc.

majestic peak which reaches to above 23,000 feet was likened unto the head of a powerful chief, wearing the diadem of the Incas. The name of Chimborazo, a somewhat lower volcano in Ecuador, represents Kechua *čimpu* 'multicolored woollen threads' and *rasu* 'snowy peak'; the description is rather similar to the preceding one and refers to the appearance of these mountains, whose slopes are covered by debris forming a pattern resembling the woollen threads in the *llautu*. Exactly the same idea seems expressed in Pichupichu, an Andean peak in Peru (cf. Kechua *p'iću* 'woolly tuft' and *p'ićuq* 'many-colored fillet or sash'). Personification seems evident also in Llullaillaco, the name of a volcano in central Chile (south of Antofagasta); *llulla* means 'lying, deceitful' in Kechua as well as in Aymara and denotes a typically human quality. Incahuasi and Cordillera del Inga (= *inka*), in the central Andes (above Coquimbo), of which the former name means 'the house or abode of the Inca,'[39] both suggest a personal designation, but it should be remembered that the original meaning of the term 'Inca' is not known and, further, that the word *inka* in Kechua has several other meanings as well. Huascarán (or Huascán), a peak in northern Peru, near the headwaters of the Marañón, vaguely recalls the name of one of the last Incas at Cuzco. Cuzco itself, the name of the old Inca capital, also suggests personification, although of a far more general type: the word (in Kechua *qusqu*) means the 'umbilicus' and like the Greek ὄμφαλος — as used of various places, even of a part of Athens, in the sense of the 'middle of the earth' — or *Te Pito o te Henua* ('the umbilicus, or center, of the land or earth') as a native name of Easter Island, Cuzco no doubt refers directly to a purely geographical feature, either to the capital itself as center of the Inca Empire or — rather more likely — to the valley in which it stands.

Let us now consider some of the mountain names in the various cordilleras in the range of the Andes, beginning in the northern part. In Ecuador, to the west of Quito, rises the volcano Pichincha (on some maps the name is spelled Pinchincha); with regard to the latter form the name might perhaps be connected with the Kechua verb *pinći-* or *p'inći-* 'shine,' but Pichincha is the form of the name of a mountain in northern Chile also); Cotocachi, the name of an

[39] There are mountains, districts and places of that name (Incahuasí, Incaguasí) in Peru, Bolivia and Argentina.

even higher peak north of Quito, simply means the 'salt mound' in Kechua. The same initial element is met with in Cotopaxi, an active volcano south of Quito; the Kechua form of the name is indubitably *q'utu p'asi* (originally *p'aśi*), meaning 'smoky mound' (in reality the same as the Mexican Popocatepetl, 'smoky mountain'; the latter, however, but seldom emits smoke). There are several Andean peaks whose names begin with the element Il(l)-: Illimani (Ilimani), Illiniza, Illesca (in Ecuador and northern Peru), Illampu (or Sorata, in western Bolivia); it might be suggested that such names be connected with the Kechua verb stem *illa-* 'shine' (related to the Aymara *illapa*, *illapu* 'lightning'; 'shot') and thus of the same type as suggested for Pichincha (Illesca, however, is also the name of a Spanish town in the province of Toledo and it is in any case probable that the form of the name, which in Kechua might have been **illasqa* 'shone' or 'shining,' has been influenced by the Spanish name). Sarasara, an almost 20,000 foot high volcano near the coast in southern Peru, is strangely named, since *sara* means 'maize' in Kechua; as a matter of fact, *sarasara* is the Kechua word for 'corn field.' Unless the name originally pertained to something else than the mountain itself, it might possibly refer to the coloring of its slopes or some similar detail. Another, still higher, volcano in southern Peru is Coropuna (the element *Coro-* is not infrequent in the Andean toponymy; there is a Corocoro in Bolivia, a place rich in copper); we do not know the meaning of the initial part of the name, but *-puna* is originally the word for a 'bleak plateau' in the Andes. The volcano Mistí, above Arequipa in the very south of Peru, has quite a strange name, as it means — at least in present-day Kechua — a 'mestizo' or anything 'mixed'; this name form is actually used by the Indians when speaking of the mountain, although the reason for this designation remains obscure. Sierra de Huataconda (or Guataconda) in northern Chile (above Iquique) is one of the many names indicating 'smoky' mountains; the Kechua *qunta* (= *-conda*) is 'steam' or 'vapor' (the first part seems to mean 'year,' but it would be too rash to conclude that the name is to be interpreted as something like 'annual vapor'). Sierra de Sarapana, also in northern Chile (above Antofagasta), again seems derived from *sara* 'corn' (cf. Sarasara, above). Nevado de Aconquija, in the Argentinian province of Catamarca, shows the same element *aqu*

'sand' as we have seen in Aconcagua;[40] the latter part of the name seems to be the Kechua *kiśa* (*k'iśa*, *kisa*) 'nest' (hence 'nest of the sands' or 'sandy nest'; in another form we meet this Kechua word in the Ecuadorian river name Gualaquiza). Uspallata, the name of a city in the Argentinian province of Mendoza (rich in copper), might be mentioned in connection with the mountain names; situated at the foot of Aconcagua, this place may derive its name from Kechua *usp'a* (*usp'a*) 'ashes,' possibly with reference to emanations from nearby volcanoes.

Finally, we have to consider the Andes, the name of the mountain system, 4,500 miles in extent, which runs along the whole of the Pacific coast, from the Isthmus of Panama in the north to Cape Horn in the south. The name undoubtedly comes from Kechua or has at least connections with Kechua words. It belongs to a type of name quite common in the Andean region, in which the element *anta*, *anti* or *antu* dominates. The form *anta* means 'metal,' especially 'copper,' in Kechua and *Anti* (in the plural *Anticuna* or — with a Spanish termination — *Antis*) is the Kechua name of the Andes;[41] *antu*, on the other hand, enters only as an element in certain other names. All these forms are evidently related; but whether they originally indicate 'copper' or just some part of, or locality in, the Andes (in that case the name might be Pre-Kechuan) is quite impossible to say (we might compare the name Cyprus, from which 'copper' — in Latin *cuprum* — is generally supposed to be derived). Of the names containing these elements, however, we may quote the following ones: Antisana, an about 17,000 foot volcano to the east of Quito in Ecuador (if related to Kechua *sani* 'red,' we might get the meaning 'red copper or Andes' – *anta* (*Anti*) *sani*); Andahuaylas, a place between Cuzco and Ayacucho in Peru; Antabamba ('copper plain'), southwest of Cuzco, Peru; Anta ('copper'), the name of a place and a province in Peru (Cuzco) and also that of a department in the Argentinian province of Salta; Antofagasta, the

[40] The intercalated *-n-* in these forms is probably due to a kind of "euphony" – the linguist, by the way, looks at "euphonious" trends in language as a tendency toward an assimilation to current, or accustomed, phonetic sequences –; in this case the "euphony" consists in an assimilation to well-known Spanish words of the type *acongojar, aconsejar, acontecer,* etc.

[41] There are derivations such as *Antisuyu* ('Andean land') and there is even an Araucanian tribe, the Anti, which once occupied a river valley in the very heart of Peru.

important seaport in northern Chile and the name of a province (there are several mines there; the element *-gasta* (= ?) occurs in various other names in these parts and there is also another place Antofagasta in the Argentinian province of Catamarca); Antofalla, a volcano in the old territory of the Andes in Argentina; Andalgalá, a fort in Catamarca, Argentina, also called El Fuerte (the final element may be Aymara *kala* 'stone, rock'); Andacollo, a place in Chile (Coquimbo); finally, Antuco, a volcano in southern Chile (above La Concepción), of which the name may possibly be Araucanian (in this language, however, *antù* means 'sun').

Names of the other metals are occasionally represented in the toponymy. Thus we have the mountain peak Collquihorcuna, to the east of Cuzco, a name which simply means 'silver mine'; further, Colquemarca ('silver town'), a place and district south of Cuzco, and Collque-Huichcana, the name of a peak and silver mines in Huancavélica, Peru. Kechua *kori* (*quri*) 'gold' seems to occur in at least one name, *viz.*, that of Cori, a place in the territory of the Andes (now part of Salta) in northern Argentina; there is another Cori in Chile (province of Antofagasta). Among original mountain names we shall also have to mention Titicaca, now the official name of the largest lake in South America, which is supposed to have formerly covered a still larger area, its level having been more than 300 feet higher; since the final element means 'rock' (in Kechua *qaqa*; cf. Caca-Aca 'excrement of the mountain' in the Bolivian Andes), one is inclined to believe that the name originally applied to the surrounding rocks (*titi* means 'lead,' as in *titihurquna* 'lead mine'), whereas the lake itself would have had another designation (notice that it has, ever since the time of the Incas, been alternatively called Lago Chucuito, after the name of a place on its western shore, near Puno).

The Kechua word *cachi* (*kaći*) 'salt' enters into several names: Huanacache (Guanacache), a salty lake in the Argentinian province of San Juan; Cachi-Yacu ('salt river'), a river in central Peru; Cachicocha ('salt lake') and Cachicoto ('salt mound'), also in Peru; (perhaps) Cachiboya, the name of a river and place in Peru; Cachiyuyo ('salty grass land'), on the Argentinian-Chilean border; finally Cachi, the name of several peaks and places in Argentina and Peru, e.g., Nevados de Cachi, which rises about 20,000 feet in Salta, Argentina.

South of the Kechua-dominated region, with which we have now dealt, appear mountain names having *mahuida* (or *mauida*, *mavida*) as their final element; this is the Araucanian word for 'mountain.' Names of this type are found far to the east, in Patagonia: Minchinmávida, in southern Chile; Auca Mahuida ('mountain of the Araucanians') and Pum Mahuida, in the territory of Neuquen and province of Mendoza, Argentina; Sierra Pichi Mahuida ('little mountain'), in the province of Eva Perón (territory of La Pampa). In roughly the same area mountain names are found of which either the first or last element is *huincul* ('peak' or 'hill' in Araucanian) or *lemu* ('mountain'); we have: Montes de Huincul Mapu ('peak or hills of the land' — that is, that of the Mapuche or Araucanians — or perhaps rather 'hilly land') in the territory of Río Negro, Argentina, and Sierra de Pillahuinco (probably for *-huincul*) in the province of Buenos Aires (this name, by the way, marks the farthest eastward expansion of the Mapuche in Argentina). Pichilemu ('little mountain') and Bucalemu are the names of places on or near the coast south of Valparaiso in Chile.

In the names pertaining to what we might call the "older" toponymy — of the type chiefly found in the eastern parts of South America — the standard geographical designations, such as 'mountain,' 'lake,' etc. (however, with the important exception of the 'river' designation in Guarani names in *-hy* or *-i*; cf. above), are almost entirely absent. Instead, characteristic appellatives are used alone, of which we can never be sure as to just what particular geographical feature they originally referred or whether they were ever the name of any particular mountain, lake or river, although they may figure as such in the official toponymy. In these we find a most profuse collection of plant or tree names, as well as animal names (including those of birds and fish), denoting the typical occurrence of important plants or trees, of game or other animals, of birds in the forests, of fish in the rivers, etc. Let us begin with names referring to the vegetation.

Such a name is, for instance, that of Punta de Maisí (the easternmost point of Cuba), which means '(of the) Indian corn' (*maisi* or *marisi* — according to the dialects — is the Arawak name of 'maize,' which has become universally introduced into the European languages). In Venezuela we find the Río Amana, meaning

'wild pineapple' in Carib (on this river, also called Río de los Chaimas, the Carib tribe of that name has been settled long since).[42] Sierra Pacaraima, the mountain chain on the border of Venezuela and Brazil, should probably be ranged here; the Carib word *pakara* is 'basket,' but it is very likely originally the name of the plant or tree which furnishes the material. Maripa, a place in Dutch Guiana, is more transparent, as *maripa* is the Carib word for a well-known palm tree (*Maximiliana Maripa*). Several names in Brazil contain the Guarani word *ka'a* 'the maté or Paraguay tea' (*Ilex paraguayensis*); this is, at least, the special signification of this word — in reality it is used to denote practically any kind of vegetation in the various Tupian dialects and even the 'jungle' itself (the meaning of the word answers fairly well to that of *hierba* in Spanish). One of the names containing this word element is Caeté ('the very *hierba*'), the name of several places and rivers in Brazil; Caeteté, the name of a city in Bahia, has essentially the same meaning. Totora, a place east of Cochabamba and a province in Bolivia, represents the plant name *totora* (probably ultimately from Kechua), which is still used in Spanish for the South American 'cattail' (*Typha*), a marsh plant or reed used by the Peruvians for making light rafts; in this particular case the name may, of course, have been given comparatively recently by the Bolivians. Another formally non-Indian name is Taquaral, the name of several mountains and rivers in Brazil; *taquaral* is the Portuguese word for a 'bamboo grove,' but the word comes ultimately from Guarani *takuara*, the native bamboo. Rio Taquaruçu ('big bamboo'), in the Tocantins basin, and the place Taguatinga ('white bamboo'), both in the state of Goiás, Brazil, are named from this word as is also Taquaritinga do Norte ('white bamboo river'), the name of a city in Pernambuco. Taquari ('bamboo river') occurs, as we have mentioned above, in many parts of Brazil. Another botanical name is that of Timbo, a place in Bahia, Brazil (it is the Guarani name of a certain tree). The Rio Jequiriçá, in the same state, seems derived from Guarani *jekyra* or *jekyri*, plant names, and Maracás, the name of a coffee-growing place, also in Bahia, is no doubt from the word meaning 'calabash (tree)' — cf.

[42] Cf. the native name of a small river in Dutch Guiana, *Amanawa'u*, of a similar meaning (see Ahlbrinck, *Encyclopaedie*, p. 79). Amaná is also the name of a lake in Pará and of a lake and river island in central Amazonas. — This name, of course, has nothing to do with the place name Amana in the Argentinian province of La Rioja.

above — (the final *-s* perhaps deriving from the tribe name Maracás). Rio Jequitinhonha, the rather important river in Minas Gerais and Bahia, takes its name from a Guarani word *jekyty* (in Tupi *jekitiba*), which is that of a certain tree of the soapberry family (for the final part of the name, cf. the end of this study). Araripe, a place on the coast, near the mouth of the equally named river, means 'the place of *arari*' (a Brazilian leguminous tree called *centrilobio* in Spanish and *arari* in Guarani). Campos de Caatinga, in southern Bahia, is from Guarani (or Tupi) *ka'atinga* ('white maté'; cf. above) and Caratinga, a place in Minas Gerais, takes its name from an edible plant (*kara*, in Guarani). Río Tacuarembó, in Uruguay — at present the name of an airport — means 'of the osier' or 'willow' (especially a kind of reed locally named *chusque*) and Peperi Guaçu (Pipri Guazú, 'big *Pipiri*'), an affluent of the Uruguay, between Brazil and Misiones (Argentina), represents another Guarani plant name (*pipiri*, a cyperaceous plant of the genus *Rhynchospora*). Lago Iberá, an important lake or swamp in Corrientes (Argentina) is quite significant, as *yvyra* is simply the word for 'tree' in Guarani; Uberaba, the name of a small lake (*lagoa*) in Mato Grosso and of a place in Minas Gerais, evidently has an identical origin. Curitiba, the capital of the state of Paraná, Brazil, is derived from the Guarani word for a certain 'pine tree' (probably an *Araucaria*). The names Caapucú, Caazapá, Caaguazú ('big maté') and Caacupé ('behind the maté growth'), all places in Paraguay, are named from the same Guarani word as quoted above for the Brazilian Caeté and here also enters Caapiranga ('red *hierba*'), the name of an island in the Rio Branco, Amazonas, Brazil (in the last name *ka'a* is perhaps to be taken in its general sense; cf. above). Urundaití, a district in southern Bolivia, seems to refer to a quebracho vegetation (cf. Guarani *urundei* 'quebracho'). The names Rio Jundiatuba (in Amazonas) as well as Jundiaí (the name of a city in São Paulo) also seem to be from a plant name (*jundiá* — ultimately from Tupi — is still used in the Portuguese of Brazil as the name of a labiate plant; the name is sometimes given as Jandiatuba, a form which may have been influenced by another river name or the Tupi and Portuguese word for a certain fish, *jandiá*).

In the western part of the continent, the vegetation names are usually of the compound type to which we have referred as being,

toponymically, more "advanced." Such names are: Sunchopaso, a fort in the Argentinian province of Santiago del Estero (*sunć'u* is the Kechua word for a certain shrub with yellow composite flowers; of *-paso* we can say nothing, except that it might possibly be the Spanish *paso* 'a step'); Utcubamba ('cotton plain'; cf. Kechua *ut'k'u* 'cotton'), the name of an affluent of the Marañón in northern Peru; Challapata, a place in western Bolivia (cf. Kechua *ć'al'a* 'maize leaves' and *pata* 'river bank'), etc. Of simple (non-compound) forms we may quote Sunchulli, the name of a mountain in western Bolivia, which seems a derivation from the above-mentioned Kechua *sunchu*, but Sunchales, a place in Santa Fe, is just a Spanish word (a derivation of *suncho*, which in its turn is the Kechua *sunć'u*); further, Achiras, a place in Cordoba, Argentina, from *achira* (very likely of Kechua origin), the Spanish name of various South American plants (in Peru and Ecuador, that of a canna). Finally, we have the rather dubitable Virú, a place south of Trujillo in Peru (the Kechua word *wiru* means the South American 'bamboo' — in Spanish *caña brava* —, but the name may be Pre-Kechuan and have nothing to do with the Kechua word). This name is interesting as it has been supposed to be the origin of the name Peru itself. If this is correct, we have a typical example of what often happens in place name history: a small place or district ultimately gives its name to a whole country. The Spaniards had heard of this place, by which entrance to the Inca Empire was presumably gained, and so became early acquainted with this geographical designation, which also became the official name of the new colony.

Among those names in which words for animals enter, we may quote the following ones, of which many are merely the name of the animal itself: Tamanduá, the name of numerous Brazilian sierras, rivers and islands (e.g., in Maranhão), is simply the Guarani word for the 'ant bear' or 'ant eater'; Warumatta, a place in northern British Guiana, is possibly connected with Carib *waru*, the name of a certain jaguar; Rio Jacaré, of which there are many in Brazil, is quite identical with the common South American river name Río Caimán (or Caimanes), that is, 'alligator river' (from Guarani *jakare* 'cayman'); Tatuquara, on the Rio Negro, in Amazonas, Brazil, means 'the burrows of giant armadillos' (for the final element, cf. Urubuquara, among the bird names). Lago do Jacaré

('alligator lake'), in Amazonas, is quite analogous with the above river name (quite near is one Rio Jacaré). Tapiratiba, the name of a city in São Paulo, is derived from Tupi *tapihyra* (Guarani *tapi'y*) 'tapir.' Jaguaripe, the name of a place in Bahia and also of a river in the same state, means 'at the water (or 'river') of the jaguars' and Jaguarão, a city and river in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, conveys more or less the same meaning (the ending is the Portuguese augmentative, equaling 'big'). Río Aguaray Guazú, in Paraguay represents Guarani *aguaray* 'fox (*zorro*) river' and *guasu* 'big.' Rio Capivari, the name of rivers and places in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, etc., means 'capybara water' (cf. Capiberibe 'at the capybara water,' a river in Pernambuco; the Tupi form is *kapiwara*, the Guarani form, *kapiyva*, representing the origin of English 'capybara'). Various places in Brazil are named Canguçu (e.g., in Rio Grande do Sul); this word, which is also used in Portuguese, denotes a kind of Brazilian lynx.

Among the Kechua (or Aymara) and Araucanian names we find: Pomarongo, a mountain in northern Chile, from Kechua *puma*, the 'cougar or American lion,' and of the same kind are Pomabamba ('puma plain'; the name of rivers in Peru and Bolivia), Pomacata ('puma slope'; a place in Peru), Pomacocha ('puma lake'; various places in Peru), Pomacoto ('puma mound'; a place in Peru), Pomamarca ('puma town'; in Peru), Pomamayo ('puma river'; also in Peru) and finally Nevado Pomarape, in northern Chile; further Vicuña, a place in central Chile, which simply means 'the vicuña *or* vicuñas' (that is, a place where there are vicuñas).[43] Of Araucanian origin are: Boquete Nahuel Pan, a mountain pass in the territory of Chubut, Argentina, in which the middle word, *nahuel*, means 'jaguar'; from this word are also derived Nahuel Huapi ('tiger island'; cf. above), the famous lake in the territory of Rio Negro, and Nahuel Mapu ('tiger land'), the name of a small lake in the province of La Pampa. Many of the original Indian names have no doubt been translated into Spanish and Portuguese, for instance, Rio Tigre, the name of

[43] The name may quite as well be from Spanish – although *vicuña* is originally a Kechua word (*wik'uña*) –, but the type of name is certainly Indian, as is that of Gatico, a place near the coast in northern Chile, or Pájaro, El Pájaro, the names of various places in Latin America (cf. the Introduction to this study). Lagarto 'alligator' is the name of several rivers and lakes in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, etc.; cf. Note 34.

various South American rivers, and Cerro del Leoncito, in the province of Rioja (Argentina).

Still more frequently than the names of mammals, bird names occur in the native toponymy. Starting in the north and east, where place names of a primitive type prevail, we come across the following ones: Cunavano, the name of a river and mountain in Venezuela (Bolívar), not far from the Orinoco, from the same stem as Carib *kunawaru*, the name of a bird (*Todus*); Curumú, a river name in eastern Venezuela and of a lake or lagoon in Brazil (Pará; also cf. Serra do Curumu, in Brazil), is nothing else than the Carib name of the 'turkey buzzard' (the *gallinazo*), which frequently figures in the South American toponymy; Guayana, a place near the Orinoco in eastern Venezuela, and Guiana, the well-known region in northeastern South America, both represent, as it seems, the Carib bird name *wayana* (that of a parrot, *Ara severa*);[44] Vichada, the name of a river in western Colombia, recalls the Paez word *vicha-cue* 'bird,' but the location of the river can hardly be said to coincide with the present Paez territory; Cotinga, the name of a river in Pará (Brazil), represents Tupi *kotinga*, a bright-plumaged bird (the name is also used in Portuguese, *cotinga*); Warranuri, a place on a small river in British Guiana, contains the Carib name element *wara*, an ibis. The Guarani name of the 'turkey buzzard', *yryvu* (corresponding to the Tupi *urubu*, which is also used in Spanish and Portuguese), enters in a great many Indian place names in Brazil and elsewhere. The Rio Urubu is an affluent of the Amazon, in Amazonas, while Urubuquara, which means 'hollow or cave of the turkey buzzards,' is the name of several rivers and lakes in the Brazilian state of Pará.[45] We can, of course, also refer to the above-mentioned mountain name Tonoro in Venezuela. The name Rio Jacundá, a small river between the Amazon and the Rio Pará estuaries, seems a derivation of Guarani *jaku* 'pheasant.' Inhambupe, a place in Bahia, means 'at

[44] The English spelling *Guiana* was evidently meant to represent the Spanish *Gauyana*, but through a not unusual "hypercorrection," the pronunciation of the *-i-* as English *e* long (in place of *i* long) has become standard. Strange enough, John S. Kenyon and Thomas A. Knott's *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English*, gives '*Guiana*' as the Spanish pronunciation of the name, a form which appears to be nonexistent in this language.

[45] The name is quite analogous to the Kechua Condorhuasi (Condorguasi), a peak in Catamarca (Sierra de Aconquija), a hill in Ancachs (Peru) and the name of several places in northwestern Argentina and Peru.

the place of the partridges' (in Guarani *ynambu*). Jacu, Jacuí and Jacuipe are all names of places and rivers in various parts of Brazil (Bahia, Minas Gerais) and are derived from the above-mentioned Guarani *jaku* 'pheasant.' Garauna, a place in Paraná (Brazil), possibly takes its name from Guarani (or Tupi) *karaũ* 'ibis' (a proverbially black-plumaged bird, which in Brazilian Portuguese is known as *caraúna* or *graúna*). Similarly, the place name Tieté (a river and city in São Paulo) is identical with the Brazilian Portuguese *tietê* (Tupi *tiete*), the name of a certain song bird. An amusing name is Salto do Urubupunga, which is a cataract in the Rio Paraná, on the border between the Brazilian states of São Paulo and Mato Grosso; the name is evidently Guarani and seems to mean 'of the inflated, obese or even dyspeptic turkey buzzard' (cf. the words Tupi *urubu*, Guarani *yryvu* and Tupi-Guarani *punga*, respectively). — In the western part we find the following ones: Cordillera del Cóndor, a mountain chain between Ecuador and Peru, from the name of the well-known Andean vulture (in Kechua *kuntur*). South of Lima (Peru) we find, on the bay of the same name, a place Pisco, evidently from Kechua *pisqu* 'bird.' Another bird name appears perhaps in Tocopilla and El Toco, both places in northern Chile; the former may be a compound of the Kechua *tuku* 'owl' and the latter possibly simply means 'the owl(s).'[46] The river names Pilcomayo and Pilcopata, the former the boundary river between Argentina and Paraguay, the latter a river in southeastern Peru, both come from Kechua *pil'qu*, the name of a red-plumaged bird (the translation of the names is, respectively, '*pillco* river' and '*pillco* bank'). Finally, we have some Araucanian names containing the Mapuche name of the 'turkey buzzard' (*traru*): Trarú Lauquen (a lake in La Pampa, Argentina) means 'turkey buzzard sea' and Trarú Rucá (in the territory of Chubut), 'the house (place) of the turkey buzzard(s)'; with the latter name compare Urubuquara and the Kechua Condorhuasi, dealt with above (in Note 45).

Perhaps one should range here — from a purely toponymical point of view — two names which are rather analogous to those above, namely, Talcahuano, the southern Chilean seaport at La

[46] Even in Spanish we come across names like El Pájaro ('the bird'); cf. Note 43. Whether the name Tucumán (province and provincial capital in Argentina) is from the same stem (*tuku-*) is uncertain.

Concepción, and Ushuaia, in Tierra del Fuego and at the same time the southernmost place in the world (now used as a penitentiary). The meaning of *Talca-* we do not know (Talca is the name of a city and province south of Santiago, Chile, but the proposed interpretation of the name as meaning 'thunder' in Araucanian is not quite convincing); the final element, however, is the well-known word 'guano' (from Kechua *wanu*), the fertilizer which is collected where sea fowl gather in great numbers, and since the word *ušwaya* has the same meaning in the Yamana (or Yahgan) language, there is reason to think that both names refer to quite similar ornithological conditions.

Many river names, as we have seen above, contain an element denoting some kind of fish which lives or is caught in that particular river and which, besides, often also is the designation of 'fish' in general. (Incidentally, rivers which were lacking in fish were often said to be 'unlucky' and designated by the Tupi word *panema* — in Guarani *panẽ* — of that meaning, which we have seen in the river names Paranapanema, Curuapanema, Cuminapanema, above.) By analogy with what we have seen in the preceding sections, we might expect the fish name itself to be the designation of the river or lake. But since rivers were probably earlier than other geographical concepts determined as such, the designations are more individual (as by the terminations *-y* and *-mayu*, etc.; cf. above). The lake and river name Pirara (also Pirarara; in Amazonas, etc.) seems, however, to be nothing but Tupi *pirarara*, a large food fish (a derivation of *pira* 'fish'). The same element enters in Piraiauara (a lake and an affluent of the Madeira, in Amazonas), Pirayba (a place on the Madeira), Piraju and Pirajuí (cities in São Paulo), Pirapora and Rio Pirapó (rivers and places in São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Paraná), Piratinim (a place in Rio Grande do Sul) and Piratininga (a lake in Rio de Janeiro). Piranhaquara, a place in Pará (Brazil), is named for a certain voracious fish of the bream species, called *palometa* in Spanish (the Brazilian Portuguese name of this fish, *piranha*, corresponds to the Tupi pronunciation of the word, which in Guarani is *piraĩ*; for the ending, cf. Tatuquara, Urubuquara, above).[47] Lago Chalgua, in northern Peru, takes its name from the Kechua

[47] Rio das Piranhas, a river in Paraíba, and Rio Grande do Norte (Brazil), convey the same idea.

word for 'fish' (*ćal'wa*) and is thus quite analogous to the above-mentioned Pirara in Brazil. Challuanca, a place in the mountains west of Cuzco, has its name derived from the same stem (probably originally a river name).

As we have seen in several of the names given in the preceding paragraphs, the plant or animal names are often provided with certain suffixes. As a matter of fact, in a great number of cases, if not in most, the Indians used in their designation of places a *locative* indicator, a termination corresponding to any of our prepositions 'in,' 'at,' 'on,' etc., as when we say 'in Peru,' 'at Santiago,' 'on the Amazon river', etc. In the usage among the Indians these constructions prevailed, especially since the place designations were really nothing but common appellative nouns (cf. the introductory paragraphs), but whereas we are conscious of the independent character of the prepositions and so give the *name* as respectively 'Peru,' 'Santiago,' '(the) Amazon,' etc., the Indians would never think of pronouncing the place name without the suffix and the early Europeans who took over the Indian names would not have been aware of the presence of any suffix element which might have been detached when adopting the form as an official place name. The suffixes are of various kinds and differ considerably in the various languages; they seem far more common in the east (where, as we have said, the appellative nature of the names is still more noticeable).[48]

A suffix *-bo* (originally **-po*) belongs to the Arawak, Carib and Tupi-Guarani languages. It is found in Maracaibo, a place on the gulf or lake of the same name between the Goajira peninsula (Colombia) and Venezuela (we do not consider here the meaning of the name itself, which may be either of Arawak or Carib origin — the area is originally rather Arawak but later occupied by the Motilones, who are Caribs).[49] We find the same suffix in the river names Essequibo (British Guiana), Paramaribo (Dutch Guiana), Iracoubo (French Guiana), all probably of Caribbean origin; further in Cormontibo, a place in French Guiana. Of the same type as *-bo* is

[48] Cf. further as to this the author's *Indian Place Names in North America*, pp. 23 sqq. – As general locative suffixes, forms in *-k-* are found in North and Central America, but these are seldom represented in the South American place names.

[49] The author has heard this place being referred to by Goajiro Indians as *Marakaya*, that is, without the locative suffix.

probably *-mo*, in Bayamo, a city in eastern Cuba (cf. Bayamón, in Puerto Rico, in which *-mon* represents a common postposition, meaning 'at,' in the Arawak languages) and perhaps in Salina de Coamo, in Puerto Rico. More commonly, however, we find the Guarani locative termination *-ba* (originally **-pa*), as in the name Pirayba, quoted above;[50] this suffix is often preceded by any of the syllables *-tu-* or *-ti-* (in Guarani *-ty* 'place'; cf. below), as in: Carapanatuba, the name of several rivers, lakes and islands in Brazil (from Tupi *karapana* 'mosquito,' also used in the Portuguese of Brazil, *carapanã*); Jundiatuba (and Jandiatuba?), a river name in Amazonas (cf. above); Paraíba, the name of a Brazilian state and of several rivers and places in Brazil ('at the river or water Para'); Itaituba, a place on the Tapajoz, in Para ('at the place of the little rock'); Uxituba, nearby in the same state; Paranayuba, an affluent of the Xingu in Mato Grosso (now called Paranaíba); Paraopeba, a river in Minas Gerais; Tapiratiba, a city in São Paulo (in Tupi or Guarani *tapi'yratyba* 'at the place of tapirs'); Miritiba, a place in Maranhão (Brazil); Ubatuba, a place on the coast in São Paulo ('at the place of *uba*,' a Brazilian plant or tree); Curitiba, the capital of the state of Paraná ('at the place of *curi*', a Brazilian pine tree); Sepotuba, an affluent of the Paraguay, in Mato Grosso. An equivalent suffix is *-pe* (or *-be*, *-ve*), which is still commonly used as a postposition in Guarani (equaling 'in, on, at,' etc.): Jaguaribe, a river and city in Ceará, Brazil ('at the jaguar river'); Capiberibe, a river in Pernambuco ('at the capybara river'); Jacuípe, the name of a river in Bahia and of another one which separates the states of Alagoa and Pernambuco, Brazil ('at the pheasant water'); Jaguaripe, a river and place in Bahia (same meaning as the above-mentioned Jaguaribe); Itaípe, a river in Bahia ('at the little rock' — cf. Itaituba, above — or possibly 'at the rock water'); Araripe, a sierra and place in Ceará ('at the *centrilobios*,' a plant name); Itapemirim, river and place in the state of Espírito Santo ('at the little rock'); Peruíbe, a place on the coast, southwest of São Paulo (cf. the river name Peruípe, in Bahia); Iguape, a place in São Paulo. — The termination *-tí* (*-ti*) or *-dí* (*-di*) corresponds to a Guarani suffix meaning approxi-

[50] A common postposition in a great many Indian languages; the Guarani form is normally *-va*, but in the Spanish and Portuguese adaptation of the place names we more frequently find *-ba*.

mately 'place';[51] it is found in many place names: Tacuarendí, a place in the province of Santa Fe, Argentina ('place of willows'; in Guarani *takuare'ẽ*, in Spanish *mimbre*); (Cerro) Urundaití, a mountain and district in southern Bolivia ('quebracho place'). This, of course, is the syllable *-ti-* (in *-tiba*), which we have mentioned above.

As locative elements we probably have to understand the terminations *-cu* (as in Sibanicú, an inland place in eastern Cuba; cf. the tribe name Siboney, early inhabitants of Cuba, and Arawak *siba* 'stone, rock,' as well as, for the termination, the Cuban plant name *cubanicú*); *-ca* (as in Jamaica — cf. the tribe name Yamaye, a division of the Arawaks inhabiting that island — and in the Puerto Rico place name Guanica, which might possibly contain the same ending); *-go* (as in Tobago, the British island east of Trinidad); and finally *-nacán* (as in Cubanacán, a mountain chain — forming part of Sierra de Escambray — in the province of Las Villas, central Cuba; this name means 'in the middle of the land,' cf. Arawak *(a)nakan* 'middle, midst'). All these terminations recall current locative suffixes in the Amerindian languages (cf. Mexican Xochimilco, Oaja-ca, Coyoa-can, etc.).

In the western part — which largely coincides with the Kechua, Aymara and Araucanian culture areas — the locative names are rare or of a somewhat different type. The name Hualgayoc (a city and province in northern Peru) seems derived from the Kechua word *wal'qa*, a 'collar' or 'necklace,' and *yoc* denotes approximately 'having' or 'provided with' (what the name originally refers to we cannot say); with this type of name we shall deal later on. Some of the suffixes in Kechua names are obscure and perhaps explainable as absolete formatives or as Pre-Kechuan residues; of such we have, for instance, *-nca*, as in Jayanca (a place in northern Peru), the afore-mentioned Challuanca (near Cuzco), etc.[52]

Lund, Sweden

To be Continued

[51] Perhaps originally **-tik* and phonetically identical with the Mexican (Nahuatl) adjectival suffix *-tic* (as in *coztic* 'yellow,' etc.), which is also found as a local derivative (as in *tlalticpac* 'on earth'); cf. the author's *Indian Place Names in North America* p. 23 (with Note 5).

[52] Notice that **-ka* — although not used in Kechua — is a common postposition in the American Indian languages, often used in place names; cf. the Mexican *Oajaca*, etc. and the author's above-mentioned work on the North American place names (pp. 22 sqq.).

Surnames of Soviet Russian and other Communist Celebrities

JOHN P. PAULS

PRACTICALLY EVERY DAY the names of Soviet Russian or other Slavic communist celebrities invariably make their appearance in the American press. The general reader is no doubt puzzled about the meanings of these names. It is for him that this article is intended and not necessarily for the Slavic specialist. Without going into their history, I shall give a short survey, including the English meanings, of some Soviet and a few non-Soviet Slavic names appearing frequently in the press. Soviet names are generally of Slavic origin. Russians, Byelorussians, and Ukrainians are Slavs and they constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of the Soviet Union. However, since the Soviet Union is composed of more than eighty different nationalities other than Slavic, some of the names are not Slavic at all. A few such non-Slavic names are included in this article. Without discussing the national ancestry of the bearer of the name, I shall examine each name as part of the language to which it belongs. I have explained here 160 surnames from the Soviet Union, and 80 surnames from its Slavic satellites. Russian names, being the most numerous, are divided according to the most common suffixes and within each group they are alphabetically ordered. The remainder are merely alphabetically arranged within each lingual group. I hope that this short survey gives the reader some insight into the linguistic and social structure of Slavic surnames.

For the sake of brevity, I do not repeat for every surname the language from which it is derived. If a given surname appears under the Russian subheading, the language is mentioned only if the name was derived from a language other than Russian. The same applies to other Slavic names.

I do not give the meaning of the common Latin or Greek names, from which the Slavic names are often derived unless the name is unusual, or seldom used in the Western languages. To go into the final etymologies of Russian or other Slavic names, was not my goal, because they are fully explained in Vasmer's etymological dictionary.

In this article, the names are explained in phrases, as in a dictionary. However, sometimes it was necessary to give a longer explanation in order to clarify, a procedure which is unfortunately in exception to the rule *unum principium divisionis.*

In order to avoid confusion with the palatal signs (′), stresses are marked by a vertical symbol (ˌ) before the accented syllable (ˌ*sokol*), in accordance with the International Phonetic Alphabet, and are given in only the Eastern and South Slavic surnames. Czech names have the fixed stress on the first syllable, and Polish on the second from the end, and are for this reason not marked. The surnames are not transliterated according to the phonetic transcription, but appear as they do in our press, in order to make the pronounciation less difficult for the general reader. Exceptions are made only in a few instances, and sometimes a variation in spelling is given in parentheses. Perhaps it is not out of place to mention here that in a Communist state, the first secretary of the party is the most powerful figure, then the premier, the chairman of the Supreme Council (theoretically president, but merely a representative figure), members of the Political Bureau, ministers, generals, scientists and then people of culture, etc.

Like the names in all other Indo-European languages, Slavic names have the following sources of origin:

1) first names (patronymics)
2) the qualities of a person (descriptive nicknames)
3) occupations
4) places of residence or national origin (local or ethnic names).

The following suffixes are *typical endings* of Russian names (mostly possessive adjectives), derived from the first name, nickname, occupation, or place:

1) *-in*, feminine *-ina*, possessives derived from feminine nouns are known among all Slavs, although used mostly by the Russians.

2) *-ev|-ov* (sometimes spelled phonetically *-eff|-off* in the French and older English publications), feminine *-eva/-ova* (equivalent to Ukrainian *-iv*, *-uk*, *-ko*, *-enko*; Byelorussian *-aw*, *-uk*; Polish *-ów*, *-(i)ak*, *-czak*, *-ek*; Czech *-ův*, *ek*; Slovak, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian *-ov*), are derived from the first name, nickname, or occupation. Names ending in *-ov* occur most frequently among the Russians and Bulgarians.

3) *-ich*, fem. *-na*, which are the patronymic endings, used in Russia constantly with the Christian name (*Iv|an |Pavlovich*, *|Anna |Pavlovna*), are common among all Slavs as family names, but are most popular among the Byelorussians and Yugoslavs.

4) *-|oy* (*-|oi*), fem. *-|aya* (*-|aia*), are typical and exclusively Russian name endings. These endings are actually adjectives with a stressed ending, derived from nicknames or places. The following few examples, of course, are not communist names:

Tols|toy, derived from dialectal *tols|toy*, literary *tolstyi*, "thick, stout, corpulent"; *Bobrin|skoy*, derived from the place names *|Bobrin*, or *|Bobrinka* < *bobr*, "beaver."

5) *-sky* (*-ski*) or *-tsky*, fem. *-skaya* (*-skaia*), *-tskaya*, are the endings of names, derived from places, mostly of names of the former nobility or landlords, who were the first in history to acquire their names from their coats of arms, places of birth, or their estates, *e.g.*, *Dosto|yevsky*, derived from the place name *Dostoy|evo*, cf. *dost|oynyi*, "worth," or *dosto|yaniye*, "property, fortune"; *Tschai|kovsky*, derived from the place name *Tschayk|ov(o)* < *tsch|ayka*, "lapwing."

6) *-ik*, fem. *-ikova*, is a suffix of names derived from the designation of occupation and other qualities, and is common to all Slavs.

7) Numerous *other suffixes*, mostly from occupation and other qualities, are common among all Slavs.

The Bolsheviks (the name is derived from the Russian adverb *|bol'she*, "more") were the extremist and centralist majority, headed by Lenin at the Socialist London Congress, 1903, from which the Communist party later developed. The members of the opposition party, the more liberal minority, were known as Mensheviks, derived

from |*men'she*, "less." It is important to remember that the old Bolsheviks always used pseudonyms, in order to disguise themselves during their underground activities, *e.g.*, |*Lenin* (his real name was *U|lyanov*). Some of them, like |*Stalin* (*Dzhuga|shvili*), |*Trotsky* (|*Bronshteyn*), or *Lit|vinov* (|*Falkenshteyn*), wanted perhaps to abandon their non-Russian names, or like |*Molotov* (|*Skryabin*), his noble origin.

I. RUSSIAN (AND BYELORUSSIAN) NAMES

1. Names in *-in*

Bul|ganin, the former Premier. From *bulg|a*, and the suffix *-anin*, "alarm, trouble," derived from the Turko-Tartar languages.

Govo|rushin, a journalist. From *govo|rushka*, "a talkative woman."

I|lyushin, the designer of the IL-bomber. From *I|lyusha*, diminutive of *Ili|ya*, from Hebrew-Greek Ἠλίας, "Elijah."

Ka|linin, the first President of the Soviet Parliament — *Ver|khovnyi Sovi|et*, "supreme council." From *ka|lina*, "snowball tree."

Ko|rovushkin, the Minister of the State Bank. From *ko|rovushka*, diminutive of *kor|ova*, "cow."

Ko|sygin, the present First Deputy Premier. From dialectal *ko|syga*, "slant-eyed." Cf. the adj. *ko|soy*, "slant."

|*Krasin*, one of the designers of the first atomic power station. From *kra|sa*, "beauty," or |*krasit'*, "to paint."

|*Lenin*, the father of the Bolshevik Revolution (November 7, 1917), and the builder of the Soviet Union. From |*Lena*: a) a diminutive of *Ye|lena*, "Helen," or b) a river in Siberia, where he was once exiled. In his novel, *Lenin*, the Polish author, Ossendowski, claimed that |*Lena* was *Lenin*'s first and only love. His real name, *U|lyanov*, is derived from *U|lyan*, a popular form of *Yuli|an*, from Greek Ἰουλιανός, Latin *Julianus*, "Julian."

|*Lysina*, an outstanding woman architectural designer. From |*lysina*, "bald spot."

Mi|gulin, designer of the jet-fighter MIG-15, 17, 19. Probably from *mig* "moment," or *mi|gat'*, "to wink, blink, twinkle."

Na|livkin, a leading geologist. From *na|livka*, "fruit liqueur."

Ne|delin, the Artillery Marshal and commander-in-chief of Russia's newly established rocket forces. From *ne|delya*, "Sunday."

Per|vukhin, an engineer and the ruling Presidium's planning chairman. From the noun *per|vukha*, "the first-born daughter," which in turn is a derivative of the ordinal numeral *|pervyi*, "first."

|Pushkin, the former ambassador to East Berlin. From *|pushka* "cannon, box." Cf. German *Büchse*, Latin *buxis*, Greek πυξίς.

|Skryabin (*Skri|abin*), a leading parasitologist. From the stem *|skryab-* in *|skryabka* "ship's scraper" (cf. *|skreb-* in *skreb|nut'* "to scrape").

So|fyin, an outstanding journalist. From *So|fia*, "Sophie."

|Stalin, the late dictator of the Soviet Union. From *stal'*, "steel," means "a man possessing the quality of steel, hard." His original name was *Dzhuga|shvili*, from Georgian *Dzhu|ga*, a Christian name, and *|shvili*, "son."

|Starostin, an outstanding soccer coach. From *|starosta*, "village chairman."

Ver|shinin, the commander-in-chief and marshal of the Soviet air force. From *ver|shina*, "top, summit, peak."

|Volin, the president of the Supreme Court of the USSR. From *|volya*, "freedom."

|Vyatkin, a well-known clown. From the city or river *|Vyatka* < tribal name *|Vyada*, whose etymology is uncertain.

Za|rubin, the former Soviet ambassador to Washington. From the verb *zaru|bit'*, "to mark a tree, to make a notch."

|Zorin, the first Soviet ambassador to Bonn. From *zo|rya*, "star."

2. Names in *-ev/-ov*

The most numerous group of Russian names (very popular in Bulgaria also) are the ones which end in *-ev/-ov*, fem. *-eva/-ova*, sometimes spelled *-eff/-off*, as it is pronounced (used especially by Russian immigrants in France). This ending is equivalent to Greek -πουλος, Scandinavian *-son* (*Gustavson*), and Polish *-(i)ak*, *-czak*, *-ewicz/-owicz*, *-ów*, fem. *-owa* (for a married woman), *-ówna* (for an unmarried girl). In Russian, a son of an *Ar|seniy* is *Ar|senyev*; of *Timo|fey — Temo|feyev*; *Ser|gey — Ser|geyev*; *Se|myon — Se|myonov*; *I|van — I|va|nov*; *Pyotr — Pe|trov*; *Mikha|il — Mi|khay|lov*;

Ro|man — Ro|manov, etc. Nicknames and occupational names are constructed the same way: *gor|chak*, "persicaria" — *Gor|chakov*; *kol'|tso*, "ring" — *Kol'|tsov*; *kry|lo*, "wing" — *Kry|lov*; *pop*, "priest" — *Po|pov*; *kuz|nets*, "smith" — *Kuzne|tsov*, etc.

Aku|linichev, a physician and designer of a diagnostic apparatus for heart ailments. From *Aku|linich*, patronymic of *Akul|ina* < Greek Ἀκυλῖνα < Latin *Aquilina*.

Bak|ulev, a scholar and famous heart surgeon. From dial. *ba|kulit'*, "to talk endlessly."

Be|lyayev, the demoted Secretary of the Kazakstan Communist party. From *Belyay* < *|belyi*, "white, light, pale."

|Blokhintsev, a scientist and designer of the world's first atomic power station. From *blokhinets*, "one who comes from *|Blokhino*," < *blo|kha*, "flea."

|Brezhnev, the new President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. From the old adj. *|brezhnyi*, now *be|rezhnyi*, "cautious, careful."

|Dudintsev, a Soviet writer, the first nonconformist and author of *Not by Bread Alone*. From *Dudino*. < *du|da*, "pipe, shepherd's flute."

|Furtseva, the only woman member of the party presidium, the present Minister of Culture. From *|Furtsev*, a descendant of *Furts* (a nickname), from German *Furz*, meaning unsuitable for print, but can be found in most German-English dictionaries.

I|lyichev, a Soviet emissary who signed the Austrian state treaty in Vienna on May 15, 1955. From *I|lyich*, which in turn comes from *Iliy|a*, "Elijah"; a good example of an old Russian custom (which probably was introduced to Russia with the coming of Christianity from Byzantine Greece), of calling each person by his first name, which was followed by his father's first name with the ending *-ich*, feminine *-eva*, *e.g.*: *Vla|dimir I|lyich*, (feminine *I|lyicheva*.) It is customary to use only the initials of these two names before the surname, in the same way as the American middle initial, and even the first initial, *I. I. I|lyichev*. In pre-revolutionary Russia, however, it was the custom to call only a gentleman by his first name and his father's first name with the ending, *-ich*. Peasants and servants were called only by their patronymics (father's first name with the ending *-ich*); *e.g.*., if a gentleman, a man would be called *An|ton An|tonovich*; if a servant, merely *An|tonovich* or *An|tonych*.

|*Khrunichev*, the Gosplan (*Gosu|darstvennaya |planovaya ko|missiya*, "State Planning Committee") official of ministerial rank. From |*Khrunich* < |*khruni*, "rags." Cf. |*khrunut'*, "to bellow."

Khrush|chëv (pronounced *Khrush|chof*; before a hard consonant, the stressed ë is pronounced as *o*), the first Secretary of the Communist party and Prime Minister. From *khrushch*, "brown beetle," (*Melolontha vulgaris*), a nickname. In Pushkin's works, this name is spelled in two ways: *Khrush|chev* (in *The Captain's Daughter*) and *Khrush|chov* (in *Boris Godunov*).*

Kisse|l'ëv, *Ye. D.*, the Soviet ambassador to Cairo. *Kisse|lëv*, *T. Ya.*, the Prime Minister of Byelorussia. From *ki|sel'*, "jelly-like dish, pudding."

|*Kon'ev*, a marshal and chief of the "Warsaw Defense Pact." From *kon'*, "horse."

|*Maltsev*, a Soviet farmer, discoverer of the new plowing method. From |*malets*, "boy, lad."

|*Malyshev*, the Minister of Machine Building; from *ma|lysh*, "tot, kiddy."

Moi|seyev, an artist, choreographer and ballet-master of the *Bol|shoi* Ballet. From *Moi|sey*, "Moses," (Jewish).

|*Obruchev*, a scientist and specialist in space research. From |*obruch*, "hoop, ring."

Pobedo|nostsev, a professor of rocketry. A translation of a Christian name, *Ni|kifor*, from Greek Νικηφόρος, "bringing victory."

Pro|kofiev, the composer. From *Pro|kofiy* < Greek Προκόπιος, "Procopius."

Si|birtsev, a writer on rocketry. From *si|birets*, "dweller of *Si|bir'*, *Siberia*." (From Kalmuk *siwr*, "woodland, marshy land.")

Snigi|rëv, a leading engineer. From *sne|gir'*, "bullfinch," (*Pyrrhula vulgaris*).

|*Sobolev*, the chairman of Russia's United Nations delegation. From |*sobol'*, "sable," (cf. Sanskrit *çabaras*, "spotted"). It was most likely

* The Russian emigres insist that *Khrushchev* is a Ukrainian, while the Ukrainians deny it vehemently. He was born in 1894 in Russia proper, in the village, *Ka|linovka*, near Kursk. His name is typically Russian (in Ukrainian, it would have been *Khrush|chiv*). *Khrushchev* himself once declared to an English journalist that he is Russian. Although *Khrushchev* does not claim to be of noble ancestry, this name appears in the Moscow chronicles as early as 1563, with the remark, *dvorya|nin*, "nobleman." Cf. *Slovar' drevnerusskikh lichnykh sobstvennykh imen*, by N. M. Tupikov, (St. Petersburg, 1903), p. 811.

originally the name of a different animal, because sable is not spotted.

|*Tupolev*, a general, designer of planes and founder of the Soviet air industry (cf. TU-104, a jet passenger plane). Perhaps from |*tu*|*pol'*, possibly a dialectal form of |*topol'*, "poplar tree."

|*Zverev*, the Finance Minister. From *zver'*, "wild beast."

An|*tropov*, the Minister of Geological Prospecting. From *An*|*trop* < Greek ἄνθρωπος, "man."

A|*postolov*, a journalist. From *a*|*postol*, "apostle."

Ar|*tistov*, a rising Communist party member of the Russian Republic. From *ar*|*tist*, "artist."

Baiba|*kov*, the head of the Gosplan. From *bai*|*bak*, "bobac(k), marmot, a person leading a solitary life, a lazy person."

Belokh|*vostikov*, the head of the European desk of the foreign ministry. A compound of |*byelyi*, "white," and |*khvostik*, "a little tail."

Bogo|*mazov*, a radio program reviewer of children's stories. From *bogo*|*maz* (< *Bog*, "God" and |*mazat'*, "to smear"), "a poor painter of icons."

Bogo|*molov*, the former ambassador to Paris. From *bogo*|*mol*, "a worshipper, one who prays ardently to God."

Boy|*tsov*, a member of the Party Control Committee. From *bo*|*yets*, gen. sing. *boy*|*tsa*, "fighter, warrior."

Dobro|*nravov*, a scientist, leading figure in space research. From *dobr-o-*|*nrav*, "good manners," "son or descendant of one who is well-tempered."

Da|*nilova*, the famous prima ballerina. From *Da*|*nilo*, "Daniel."

Dolgo|*polov*, a journalist. From |*dolgiy*, "long" and *po*|*la*, "a *flap*."

|*Dudorov*, the present Minister of Interior (MVD = *Mini*|*sterstvo* |*Vnutrennikh* |*Dyel*, "Ministry of Interior Affairs"). From dial. *d*|*udora*, "rubbish."

Garbu|*nov*, the former Secretary of the Communist party of Byelorussia. From Byeloruss. *harb*|*un*, "hunchback."

I|*gna*|*tov*, the President of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Republic. From *I*|*gnat*, "Ignatius."

Kaba|*nov*, a Gosplan official of ministerial rank. From *ka*|*ban*, "wild boar."

Kalmy|kov, the Minister of Radio and Electronics. From *kal|myk*, "Kalmuk."

|Khlamov, a Gosplan official of ministerial rank. From *khlam*, "trash."

Komar|ov, a member of the Party Control Committee. From *ko|mar*, "mosquito."

Ko|nenkov, a famous sculptor (who lived in America for twenty years, returning in 1945). This is a Russianized Ukrainian name, *Ko|nenko*, from *kon'*, "horse."

Koso|lapov, an associate editor of *Sovi|etskaya Kul|tura*. From *koso|lapyi*, "awkward, intoed."

Ko|zhevnikov, the Minister of Transportation. From *ko|zhevnik*, "leather-dresser," cf. *|kozha*, "skin, hide."

Ko|zlov, the former Vice-Premier, now a party secretary. From *kozy|ol*, gen. sing. *ko|zla*, "billy-goat."

Kru|glov, the successor of Beria. From *|kruglyi*, "round."

Ku|stov, a journalist. From *kust*, "bush."

Kuzne|tsov, the Vice-Chairman of Russia's United Nations delegation. From *ku|znets*, "blacksmith."

Le|onov, the author of *Russian Forest*. From *|Leon* < Greek Λέων, "Leo."

Lit|vinov, the first Soviet ambassador to Washington; in 1933, he won diplomatic recognition for the USSR. From *Lit|vin*, "Lithuanian," a Lithuanian Jew — *Falken|shteyn* (*|Falkenstein*), German *Falke*, "falcon" and *Stein*, "stone."

|Malenkov, former Premier, now in exile. From *|malen'kyi*, *mal*, "little, small."

Ma|zurov, the present Secretary of the Communist party of Byelorussia. From *Ma|zur*, "a Pole from *Mazowsze*," a province in which Warsaw is located.

|Menshikov, the present ambassador to Washington. From *|men'shik*, which comes from *|men'she*, "less" and the suffix *-ik*.

Mi|khailov, the recently demoted Minister of Culture. From *Mikha|il*, "Michael."

|Molotov, the former Foreign Minister. From *molot*, "hammer." His real name was *|Skryabin* (*Skri|abin*); on this see above, p. 4.

Nesme|yanov, the President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, also a specialist in space research. From *ne*, "no" and *sme|yat'sya*, "to laugh," "a descendant of one who did not laugh."

|Novikov, the state's chief planner and Deputy Premier. From *|novik*, "novice."

Or|lov, the editor of *Sovi.etskaya Kul|tura*. From *o|ryol*, "eagle."

Polya|kova, a leading woman reporter. From *po|lyak*, "a Pole."

Po|pov, an outstanding reporter. From *pop*, "priest."

Po|spelov, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Russian Republic. From *po|spel*, "arrived in time."

Sa|burov, a leading economic planner, now discharged. From *sa|bur*, "aloe."

Se|myonov, the former ambassador to East Berlin. From *Se|myon*, "Symeon."

Se|rov, the former Security Minister. From *ser*, *|seryi*, "gray, coarse."

She|pilov, the former Foreign Minister. From *she'pilo*, "one who hisses." cf. *shi|pet'*, "to hiss."

|Sholokhov, a prominent writer, author of the masterpiece of Soviet fiction, *|Tikhiy Don*, "The Silent Don." From *|sholokh*, *|shelest*, "rustle."

|Sokolov, an outstanding artist of space travel. From *|sokol*, "falcon."

Soko|lova, a woman artist and member of the Art Academy. See above.

|Suslov, a party propagandist. From *|susel*, or *|suslik*, "earless marmot."

U|lanova, the famous prima ballerina of the Bolshoi Theater. From *u|lan*, "uhlan, lancer."

U|stinov, a Vice-Premier. From *Us|tin*, "Justin."

|Volkov, the Minister of Labor. From *volk*, "wolf."

Voro|shilov, a marshal, former President of the Supreme Soviet. From *voro|shila*, "a mover"; cf. *voro|shit'*, "to move, to rustle."

Tikho|mirov, an opera critic. A compound from *|tikhiy*, "calm," and *mir*, "world, peace."

|Zhukov, a marshal who took part in the capture of Berlin, 1945. From *zhuk*, "black beetle," (*Scarabeus*).

|Zolov, the Vice-Premier of Byelorussia. From *zo|la*, "ashes."

3. Names in *-ich*

Igna|tovich, an artist. From *I|gnat*, "Ignatius."

Kaga|novich, an old Bolshevik of Jewish descent and a Russian industrial specialist, now exiled. From the Hebrew word *cohen*, "a high priest" and the Slavic suffix *-ovich*, meaning "son of." Many Jews in America who came from Slavic countries have the same type of names, *e.g.*: *Ber|kovitz*, *Lej|bowicz*, which means son of *|Berko* and *|Lejba*, etc.

Mats|kevich, the Minister of Agriculture. From Ukrain. *mats'|ko*, "indecisive man, one who gropes along"; cf. *matsku|vaty*, "to grope."

Shosta|kovich, the great composer. From Russian *she|stak*, or Ukrainian *sho|stak*, "the sixth male child," or "one who has six fingers."

Stanyu|kovich, a leading physicist. From Byeloruss. *Sta|nyuk*, "son of Stanley."

4. Names in *-oy*

Guse|voy, a literary critic. Gusevoy, a descendant of a *|Gusev*; both adjectives from *gus'*, "goose."

Pole|voy (*Pole|voi*), the journalist and author of many books, including *We Are Soviet People*. From the adj. *polev|oy*, "field-."

5. Names in *-sky/-tsky*

The suffixes *-sky/-tsky*, feminine *-skaya/-tskaya*, are common in Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Byelorussian, Czech, and other Slavic. Such names are usually derived from place names (landowners, nobles; in Polish, from the father's first name as well), and are grammatical adjectives.

Dzer|zhinsky, the first commissar of the GPU (*Gosu|darstvennoye Poli|ticheskoye Uprav|leniye*, "State Political Department"). From the Polish verb, *dzierżyć*, "to hold, keep, retain," and means "a landlord of *Dzierżyńsk*."

Fa|vorsky, a painter. From *Fa|vorsk*, the meaning of which is uncertain, perhaps from *Fa|vor* < Greek-Hebrew Θαβώρ, "Thabor," a mountain in Palestine.

Kra|sovsky, a cosmic scientist and radiation expert. From *Kra|so-vo* < *kra|sa*, "beauty."

Krug|lyansky, a leading college educator. From *Krug|lyansk*, which, in turn, comes from the adjective *|kruglyi*, "round."

Malin|ovsky, the marshal and Defense Minister. From the name of a place called *Ma|li|novo* in Russ., and in Ukrain. or Pol. *ma|lina*, "raspberry."

Manu|il'sky, a Russian Bolshevik of Jewish descent and the first United Nations representative from the Ukraine. From the name of a place called *Manu|il'sk*, (or *Manu|ilovo*, a village near Tomsk), which, in turn, comes from *Manu|il*, "Emmanuel."

Po|lyansky, the Premier of the Russian Republic. From *po|lyana*, "glade."

Roko|sovsky, a Soviet marshal of Polish descent. From *Roko|sowo*, dialectal for *Rokoszowo* signifying "field, place of mutiny," from Polish *rokosz*, "mutiny," Slovenian *rákoš*, "noise"; cf. Hungarian *Rákos*, a field near Budapest, where in 14th–16th centuries, Hungarians held their congresses. (Vasmer, Russisches etymolog. Wörterb. 2. 533.)

Rozh|dest|vensky, a reporter. From the adjectiv *rozh|destvenskyi*, "Christmas-, born on Christmas day."

Soko|lovsky, a marshal. From a place, *Soko|lovo*, which, in turn, comes from *|sokol*, "falcon." Cf. *Sokolov* (above).

Troya|novsky, the top Soviet English-Russian interpreter. From a place name *Troya|novo*, possibly from Ukrain. *tro|yan*, "father of triplets," or "three-horse carriage"; cf. Russ. *|troyka* (*|troika*), "three-horse carriage."

Tsiol|kovsky, the Russian pioneer scientist in rocket propulsion, author of *Exploration of Space by Rocket Devices*, 1903, who predicted, "Mankind will not remain tied to the earth forever." Possibly from a place *Tsi|olkov(o)*; cf. Byeloruss. *tsi|olka*, Russ. *ti|olka*, "heifer," and Pol. *ciołek*, "calf, a young ox."

Vasi|levsky, a marshal. From a place name, *Vasi|levo*, which, in turn, comes from *Va|sili*, "Basil," < Greek Βασίλειος, "Basil."

Vysh|insky, a late United Nations representative. From a place name *Vy|shinsk*, which is derived from *vyshin|a*, "height, hill."

Tukha|chevsky, a marshal who was shot to death by Stalin. From a place name, *Tukha|chevo*, of uncertain origin; perhaps from *|tukha*, "blizzard."

Za|voisky, a physicist, the discoverer of paramagnetic electronic resonance. From a place name, *Za|voysk* (verb *zavi|vat'*, "to wave").

6. Names in *-ik*

Malik, the ambassador to London. From *mal-*, "small," and suff. *-ik*.

|Shvernik, the head of the Party Control Committee. From *|shvyrnut'*, "to cast, to throw."

7. Other Suffixes

Be|ria, the executed Security Minister. From Georgian *be|ri*, "clergyman, monk."

Budy|onny, a marshal. From the adj. *bu|dënnyi*, which, in turn, comes from *|buden'*, "week-day."

Ehren|burg, a leading journalist and Stalin prize-winning author of many anti-Western books, including *I Returned from the USA*, a malicious account of life in America. A Jewish name from Germ. *Ehre*, "honor," and *Burg*, "castle."

Fish, a journalist. A Jewish name from Germ. *Fisch*, "fish."

|Freedlyand, a journalist. A Jewish name from Germ. *Friede*, "peace," and *Land*, "land."

|Grechko, a marshal and commander-in-chief of the ground forces. From *|grechka*, Ukrain. *|hrechka*, "buckwheat."

Gro|myko, the Foreign Minister. From *grom*, "thunder"; born in *|Starye Gro|myki*, "Old Gromyki," which was possibly founded by some of his ancestors.

|Laika, the first animal space traveler. From *|layka*, "Eskimo dog"; cf. *|layat'*, "to bark."

Mikoy|an, the first Vice-Premier and expert on foreign trade. The name is of Armenian origin; meaning unknown.

Ne|pomnyashchy, an outstanding journalist. The name is a form of the pres. act. participle of *ne|pomnit*, "not to remember."

Paster|nak, the poet and Nobel prize winner for his novel, *|Doctor Zhiv|ago*,* which is the first courageous criticism of communism

* *Zhi|vago* is a gen. sing. form (with the old ending *-ago*, now *-ogo*) of the adj. *zhiv*, "vivid, lively."

from behind the Iron Curtain. From Russ. or Ukrain. *paster|nak*, "parsnip," although the author himself is of Jewish descent.

Pod|gorny, see *Pid|hirnyi* (Ukrainian names).

|Sternfeld, an outstanding astronomer and researcher in the rocket field. A Jewish name from Germ. *Stern*, "star," and *Feld*, "field."

II. UKRAINIAN NAMES

Bara|novskyi, the United Nations representative from the Ukraine, From *Ba|ranovo*, derived from *ba|ran*, "ram, a fool."

Di|brova, a general, the military commander of East Berlin. From *di|brova*, "oak-grove."

Gou|zenko, the Soviet escapee and author of *Fall of the Titan*. From *guz*, "button."

|Kalchenko, the Premier of the Ukrainian Republic. From *kaln|yi*, "dirty," cf. *kal*, "dirt."

|Kapitza, the head of Russian nuclear research. From Ukrain. *ka|pytsya*, "hood, gable"; Polish *ka|pica*, "hood, cowl"; possibly both from Germ. *Kapuze*, "hood, cowl."

Kiri|chenko, a recently demoted member of the party Presidium. From the Christian name, *Ki|rik* < Greek Κυριάκος, "belonging to the Lord (Christ)."

Kondra|tyuk, a Ukrainian pioneer in rocketry, who in 1929 supplemented Tsiolkovsky's studies. From *Kon|drat*, "Conrad."

Korniy|chuk, the outstanding Soviet Ukrainian writer, politician, and recently winner of the International Lenin Peace Prize (together with the Cleveland industrialist, Cyrus Eaton). From *Kor|niy*, "Cornel."

Ko|rotchenko, President of the Ukrainian Republic. From *ko|rotkyi*, "short."

Krasno|yurchenko, the Soviet general and head of the space program research. A compound meaning "son of red George," from *|krasnyi*, "red," and *|Yurchyk*, which is dimin. of *|Yuriy*, "George."

|Krav|chenko, the Soviet escapee and author of *I Chose Freedom*. From *kra|vets'*, "tailor."

Ly|senko, a controversial biologist. From *|lysyi*, "bald-headed."

Palamar|chuk, the Foreign Minister and United Nations representative of the Soviet Ukraine. From *pala|mar* < Greek παραμονάρι(ο)ς, "sacristan."

Pid|hirnyi, the first Secretary of the Communist party. From *Pid|hirnyi*, "one who lives *pid ho|royu*, at the foot of a mountain."

Sud|ets, a general and the chief of Soviet H-bomb research (born in Dneprotrovsk, Ukraine). From *sud|ets'*, "judge."

Timo|shenko, a marshal. From *Ti|mosh*, "Timotheus."

III. POLISH NAMES

Barański, the Minister of Health. From *baran*, "ram, fool."

Cyrankiewicz, the Premier of Communist Poland. From *cyranka*, "teal (*Nettion crecca*)."

Dąb-Kocioł, the Minister of Forestry. From *dąb*, "oak," and *kocioł*, "kettle."

Dietrich, the Minister of Finance. From Germ. *Dietrich*, "descendant of Theodoric."

Gomulka, the first Secretary of the Communist party. From *gomółka*, "head of cheese."

Jaroszewicz, the Vice-Premier. From the Christian name, *Jarosz*, "vegetarian"; cf. the adjective *jary*, "fresh, of this year."

Jędrychowski, the chairman of the Planning Commission. From the place name, *Jędrychowo* < *Jędrych*, an augmentative form of *Andrzej*, "Andrew"; cf. Greek Ἀνδρέας "Andrew."

Katz, the United Nations representative. From Germ. *Katze*, "cat."

Lange, the Vice-President, economist and diplomat. From Germ. *lange*, "long, tall."

Mitręga, the Minister of Mining. From *mitręga*, "delayer."

Moskwa, the Minister of Communications. From *Moskwa*, "Moscow."

Nowak, the second Vice-Premier. From *nowak*, "novice."

Ochab, the Minister of Agriculture. Possibly a Pol. dial. word from the Ukrain. lingual border *okhab* (the same in Ukrainian), "worthless, rotten log, puddle."

Pietrusiewicz, the Minister of Building. Descendant of *Pietruś* or *Piotruś*, "little Peter."

Podedworny, the second Vice-President. A compound adj. *podedworny*, from *pode dworem*, "near an estate."

Rapacki, the Foreign Minister. From the place name, *Rapack*; meaning unknown.

Rybicki, the Minister of Justice. "One from *Rybice*," from *ryba*, "fish."

Spychalski, the National Defense Minister. From *spychać*, "to push down."

Sroka, the Minister of Communal Economy. From *sroka*, "magpie."

Strzelecki, the Minister of Transport. Descendant of a *strzelec*, "hunter."

Wicha, the Minister of Internal Affairs. From *wicha* or *wiecha*, "stake-setter."

Zawadzki, the President of Poland (the new formal title is the "Chairman of the State Council"). From the place name, *Zawada*, "hindrance, obstacle."

IV. CZECH NAMES

Cerny, the Minister of Mines. From adj. *černý*, "black."

David, the Foreign Minister. From Hebrew *David*, "David" (beloved).

Dolansky, the Vice-Premier. From the place name, *Dolany* > *dol*, "valley."

Gottwald, the Communist party leader. From Germ. *Gott*, "God," and *Wald*, "forest."

Krosnar, the Minister of State Control. "One who makes *krosna*, "weaver's looms."

Lomsky, the Minister of National Defense. "One from *Lomy*," from *lomiti*, "to break."

Neuman, the Minister of Communication. From Germ. *Neumann*, "a new man."

Novotny, the President of Czechoslovakia. From *novotný*, "modern."

Pospisil, the Minister of Power. From *pospišil*, "one who hurried."

Siroky, the Premier. From *široký*, "broad, wide."

Slansky, the executed Secretary of the Communist party. From a place name *Slane*, "salty."

Uher, the Minister of Food Industry. From *uher*, "a Hungarian."

Zapotocky, the former President. A compound of *za* "beyond," and *potok* "brook," *i.e.*, "one who lives beyond a brook."

V. BULGARIAN NAMES

Di|mitroff, the Minister of Transport. From *Di|mitar*, "Demetrius," → Δημήτριος "belonging to Δημήτηρ [Greek goddess of agriculture, in Latin *Ceres*]."

|Ganev, the President of the National Assembly ("*Sŭ|branie*"-parliament). Meaning unknown.

Ge|orgieff, the head of the Construction Committee. From *Ge|orgi*, "George," Greek Γεώργιος "George," this deriv. of γεωργός, "tiller of the earth, farmer."

|Hristosoff, the head of the State Planning. From *|Hristos* < Gr. Χρῖστος (from Χριστόφορος).

|Lazaroff, the Finance Minister. From *|Lazar*, "Lazarus."

|Lukanoff, the Foreign Minister. From *|Lukan*, "Lucanus."

Mi|khailoff, the Vice-President, general and Defense Minister. From *|Mikhail*, "Michael."

|Naidenoff, the Minister of Justice. From the past participle, *|naiden*, "found," (a foundling).

|Stefanoff, the head of State Control. From *|Stefan*, "Stephen."

|Tshervenkoff, the Vice-Premier. From adj. *|tsherven*, "red, ruddy," *i.e.*, "one who looks healthy, ruddy."

|Yugoff, the Premier. From *yug*, "south."

|Zhivkoff, the Secretary of the Communist party. From adj. *zhiv*, "alive, lively, brisk." It is a custom among the common people of Bulgaria to give the name *|Zhivko* (life) to a second-born boy, and *|Zhivka* to a second-born girl born after the death of a first child. This is supposed to insure the life of the second child (magic of the word).

VI. YUGOSLAVIAN NAMES

Yugo|slavia, which means "South-Slavia," is the country of the Serbs, Croatians, Slovenians, and Macedonian Slavs. The most typical Yugoslav names end in *-ich, -ovich, -evich, -ac*; less typical

are names that end in *-ka*, *-lo*, *-na*, etc. Due to the changing history and different cultural influences, many Yugoslavian names are not Slavic.

|*Babich*, the Minister of Foreign Trade. From *b|aba*, "grandmother."

|*Bakarich*, the President of Croatia. From *b|akar*, "copper smith."

|*Djilas*, the former theoretician of Yugoslav Communism (Montenegran), who was sentenced to hard labor for making derogatory remarks about Communist exploitation of the people, and for writing the book *The New Class*. The meaning of the name is uncertain; possibly it comes from Turkish *djilas*, which used to be a tribal title.

|*Goshnjak*, the Minister of Defense. From |*Goshe*, dimin. of |*Gorgija*, "George."

Jo|vanovich, the President of Montenegro. From |*Yovan*, (cf. Russian *Ivan*), "John."

|*Kardelj*, the Vice-President (Slovene). Meaning unknown.

Koli|shevski, the President of Macedonia. From the place name *Koli|shevo* < *klàti*, "to stab"; cf. Russian *ko|lot'*, "to stab."

|*Ma|rinko*, the President of Slovenia. From *Ma|rinko*, "Marian."

|*Popovich*, the Foreign Minister. From *pop*, "priest."

|*Pucar*, the President of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Meaning unknown.

|*Rankovich*, the Vice-President. From |*ranko*, "early."

|*Stambolich*, the President of the People's Assembly. From *stambòlija*, this in turn from Turk. *Istanbollü* < |*Stambol*, "Istanbul."*

Ste|fanovich, the Minister of Interior. From *Stefan*, "Stephen."

|*Tito-Broz*, the President of Communist Yugoslavia (Croat). The first part, |*Tito*, "Titus," is a pseudonym used by him during the Spanish Civil War; the second, *Broz*, means "brave" in Serbian.

To|dorovich, the Vice-President. From |*Todor*, "Theodore."

Ve|selinov, the President of Serbia. From |*vesel*, "happy."

Vuk|manovich, the former Vice-President and economist. The first part of the name is *vuk*, "wolf"; the rest is uncertain.

★ ★ ★

* See D. J. Georgacas, "The Names of Constantinople," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 78 (1948), p. 367.

This article was read at the annual meeting of the American Name Society in Chicago, December 28, 1955. In the interval between that date and the present, some of the dignitaries mentioned here were purged and are celebrities no more. I have included all changes in office occurring before May 6, 1960. Initially, I had planned to include only Soviet Russian surnames, but later I decided to add a few of the most prominent Communist celebrities of other Slavic countries. I could not treat them extensively, because of the lack of proper dictionaries.

Russian and other Slavic names are so simple in their meanings that the Russian or Slavic speaking person has full understanding of the meaning of these names, without having to refer to any dictionaries. Therefore, I, as a Russian-born Slavicist, found it necessary in only a few instances to consult *Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols., by M. Vasmer (Heidelberg, 1958), *Tolkovyi slovar' zhivogo velikorusskogo yazyka*, 4 vols., by V. Dal', (Moscow, 1956), and *Slovar' ukrayins'koyi movy*, 4 vols., by B. D. Hrinchenko, (Kiev, 1907).

The names explained here were collected from the American press, and the *USSR Illustrated Monthly* (Washington, D.C.). To ascertain the present position of the Communist celebrities, I consulted *Whitaker's Almanac* (London, 1960). A few names of internationally known non-Communist Russians are included in the introduction where Russian suffixes are explained.

The reader will find some place names mentioned in the article in *Atlas mira*, *Ukazatel' geograficheskikh nazvaniy* (Moscow, 1954). However, this is not a complete register of all place names, but only of those which refer to villages of at least one thousand population. Some place names are very popular among the Slavs. In the above mentioned *Ukazatel'* on page 87, one can find 73 place names derived from the name *Va|siliy*, "Basil"; on page 416, 52 derivations from the word *|sokol*, "falcon"; on page 264, 17 derivations from *ma|lina*, "raspberry", etc. All place names are not listed there, so I mentioned some hypothetical place names, because the surnames with the suffix *-sky* leave no doubt that such place names have existed or exist at present. I could not refer to "village," or "town" either, because without knowing the historical background of the surname, it is impossible to determine from which particular place such a

name is derived. Therefore, I had no choice but to use the relatively vague term "place name," which in 99% of the cases is or was a village or estate. Eastern Europe, unlike Western Europe or America, has always been the arena of devastating wars and invasions, so there are very few families who know their genealogical family trees, especially among the common, working people. Then too, Soviet surnames are mostly of proletarian origin; therefore, many of them are merely nicknames. There are some place names mentioned in the chronicles that no longer exist on the map. In the "Lithuanian" (which were actually Byelorussian or Ukrainian) chronicles, for instance, it is mentioned that a boyar, Daniel Ivanovich Irtishevich, from whom the family of the great author Feodor Mikhaylovich Dostoyevsky descended, received several villages on October 6, 1506, from the prince of Pinsk. One of the villages was *Dosto|yevo*. Thus, descendants of Irtishevich somehow dropped their previous surname and adopted a new one from the new residence. (Cf. "*Firebrand*," *The Life of Dostoevsky*, by Henry Troyat, Roy Publishers, New York, 1946, p. 12). However, one cannot find *Dosto|yevo* in the *Ukazatel'* or on the current maps.

The name of Soviet Marshal Rokosovsky (of Polish descent) could easily be derived from the place name, *Roko|sowo*, in the *Poznan'* (German *Posen*) district, recorded as early as 1310, but I am not in a position to check whether his family actually descends from there, or if that place still exists. It is not mentioned on the current maps, in the *Ukazatel'*, or any other sources. All of these difficulties prevented me from being specific on the points indicated.

I wish to express my gratitude to Elsdon C. Smith, one of the founders of the *ANS*, who encouraged me to write this article, and to extend my thanks to Dr. J. B. Rudnyćkyj, and to the editors of *Names*, Dr. Demetrius J. Georgacas, Dr. E. Wallace McMullen, and Dr. Audrey Duckert for their many valuable suggestions, which are incorporated in this article.

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The Toponym *gradus*

HENRY and RENÉE KAHANE

Corominas draws attention[1] to a form-meaning variant of Span. *grado* 'grade': "La acepción 'puerto en la desembocadura de un río' se desarrolló en catalán y en la lengua de Oc, partiendo del escalón que forma la barra; del cat. *grau* se tomó el cast. *grao*." This explanation is perhaps too limited, both in terms of time and of space; the word in question can be put in a tradition and analyzed on a Mediterranean scale. We suggest as a starting point Gr. *klîmaks* 'landing stairs' (e.g., Strabo XVII, 792 Meineke, ... hóste tèn megístēn naûn epì *klímakos* hormeîn "... so that the largest ship can come alongside the landing stairs"). Among the various allosemes (or meaning variants) of Gr. *klîmaks* that were taken over by Latin[2] may also have been the maritime one: Lat. gradus is used 'de *gradibus* per quos acceditur ad aquam, cisternam, flumen.'[3] Characteristic of this maritime term is its application to the landing stairs of harbors that were situated at the mouths of rivers or channels. Thus, already in late antiquity, in the fourth century, gradus appears in reference to the mouths of the Rhône in Ammianus and in the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* and the *Itinerarium Antonini maritimum*.[4] A second area of the term, with similar referents and also of ancient tradition, is in the northern Adriatic. Lat. gradus continues in the name of the island of *Grado*,[5] which in late antiquity was called, with a variant, *ad aquas gradatas*. The latter designation survives in Old EVenet. *gradata* (recorded in 1294) 'una serie di gradi o una scala posta ai margini dei canali, affine di entrare ed

[1] *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, II, 762.

[2] Walde-Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I, 615, s.v. gradior.

[3] *Thes. Ling. Lat.*, s.v. gradus [col. 2149].

[4] DuCange, s.v. gradus. For the *Itinerarium maritimum*: O. Cuntz, ed., *Itineraria romana* (Leipzig, 1929), I, 81 [two records].

[5] Weiss ap. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, s.v. gradus.

uscire agiatamente dalla barca'[6]; in ModEVenet. *gradada* 'orlo della banchina, ciglio della riva (in un porto)'[7]; and the EVenetian placenames *Gradada* 'porto di Leme' and *Isole Gradate*.[8] In this derivation of the Adriatic toponyms *ad aquas gradatas* and *Grado* from gradus 'landing stairs,' we are in agreement with the lexicographer Mutinelli,[9] the historian Kretschmayr.[10] and the etymologist Olivieri.[11] Others have proffered different explanations, based on the application of *gradus* 'step,' not to landing stairs, but rather, in a figurative sense, to the configuration of a landscape.[12]

The medieval and modern reflexes of gradus 'harbor near the mouth of a river or a channel' can de divided into two groups, the one centering around 'harbor,' the other around 'channel.'

(1) *Gradus* 'harbor.' This is the more widely distributed of the two.[13] It is found in three areas: (a) In the northern Adriatic, the island where the harbor of Aquileia is situated is called *Grado*, in local pronunciations *Grao* and *Gravo*.[14] (b) Near Pisa can be found a placename (*San Piero a*) *Grado*,[15] first mentioned in the *Passio S. Torpetis* (probably of the sixth century) as *Gradus ad mare* and *Gradus Arnensis*.[16] The basilica occupies the place where, according

[6] F. Mutinelli, *Lessico veneto* (Venice, 1851), p. 196, s.v. gradata.

[7] E. Rosamani, *Vocabolario giuliano* (Bologna, 1958), p. 447.

[8] Rosamani, p. 448, s.vv. [9] Mutinelli, s.v. grado.

[10] H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, I (Gotha, 1905), pp. 30 and 414.

[11] D. Olivieri, *Dizionario etimologico italiano* (Milan, 1953), s.v. grado.

[12] Just as Corominas takes the steplike shape of the bank in a channel as the starting point of the semantic development, so DuCange, in the most learned and extensive discussion of the term (in his commentary to Anna Comnena's *Alexias* [Corpus Bonnense, XL; Bonn, 1878], II, 541–544) considers the gorgelike (and thus, probably, steplike) narrowness of a strait as the basis of the *gradus* placenames. B. Marin (ap. Rosamani, s.v. gravo) thinks of the gradual sloping of the beach into the water; similarly, E. Migliorini (ap. *Enciclop. Ital.*, XVII, 621, s.v. grado) sees in *ad aquas gradatas* a "probabile allusione al tenue declivio della spiaggia."

[13] In the East, incidentally, in a similar development, Grk. *klîmaks* is replaced by the Latinism *skála*, which (through the landing stairs in the various ports of Constantinople) becomes a widely used designation of small ports of call and, as such, is the basis of *scala* 'harbor' in the various Western languages (Kahane, "Italo-byzantinische Etymologien," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, XVI [1939–40], 33–58; Kahane-Tietze, *Lingua Franca in the Levant* [Urbana, 1958], no. 841).

[14] Rosamani, pp. 452 and 454. [15] Olivieri, p. 354.

[16] *ActaSS* Mai, IV, 9 and 17. For the *Passio* cf. *Bibl. hagiogr. lat.* (Brussels, 1900–01), p. 1202; F. Lanzoni, *Le diocesi d'Italia* (Faenza, 1927), I, 598.

to legend, St. Peter first landed in Italy. "The ancient estuary of the Arno, with the harbour of Pisa, must once have been at this spot, before the present coast was formed by alluvial deposits."[17] (c) In Catalonia the term reaches its greatest vitality: Catalan has the appellative noun *grau* 'punt de la riba que serveix de desembarcador; port de mar' and various placenames such as the *Grau* of Valencia and the *Grau* of Tortosa.[18]

(2) *Gradus* 'channel.' The area of this development is the Catalan-Provençal coast. The earliest trace (as already mentioned) is the fourth century placename *Gradus* referring to the mouths of the Rhône. From the Middle Ages on, *grau* toponyms designating channels by means of which a lagoon or a river is connected with the sea (i.e., designating regions located near the mouths of rivers and in swampy regions) are frequently recorded for Provence,[19] from the Département du Var to Roussillon. They appear most densely around the *villes mortes*. Examples: (a) the mouths of the Rhône: *Grau de Peygoulier, Grau du Milieu, Grau du Piémanson, Grau d'Orgon* [the *grau dono* of the portolani]; (b) around Arles: *Grau de Galéjon*; (c) around Aiguesmortes: *Grau du Roi, Petit Grau du Vidourle*; (d) around Maguelonne: *Grau de Palavas*; (e) around Agde: *Grau d'Agde, Grau de Pérols, Grau-Philippe*; (f) around Narbonne: *Grau de Vendres, Grau de la Grande Maïre, Grau de la Nouvelle, Grau de la Franqui.*[20]

[17] Baedeker, *Northern Italy* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 393.

[18] Alcover and Moll, *Diccionari català* (Palma de Mallorca, 1930ff.), VI, 393, s.v. grau. Aguiló y Fuster, *Diccionari Aguiló* (Barcelona, 1915–34), s.v. grau. K. Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Meereskunde und des geographischen Instituts an der Universität Berlin, XIII; Berlin, 1909), p. 453, with comments on pp. 586–587.

[19] DuCange, s.v. gradus. A. Jal, *Glossaire nautique* (Paris, 1848), p. 799, s.v. gradus; p. 801, s.v. grau. Rich material on the *graux* of Montpellier, with historical remarks on thirteenth century (and later) channels, ap. A. Germain, *Histoire du commerce de Montpellier* (Montpellier, 1861), I, 44–45, 86–88, 93, 209, 326, 357; II, 201, 257, 445–446; Appendix I, 522–528. The conditions of the *graus* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are discussed by P. Boisonnade, *Annales du Midi*, XLVI (1934), 98. Kretschmer, *Portolane*, p. 288 *grado di nerbona*, p. 454 *grao de magalona*, p. 455 *grao de passeto* and *grao dono* [two mouths of the Rhône].

[20] Ch. Lenthéric, *Les Villes mortes du golfe de Lyon* (Paris, 1883), pp. 180–183, 251, 261, 346, 348, 367–371, 397; map on p. 351. Lenthéric, *Le Rhône* (Paris, 1892), pp. 365, 456, 464. F. Mistral, *Lou Tresor dóu Felibrige* (Aix-en-Provence, 1879–86), II, 87. A. Longnon, *Les Noms de lieu de la France* (Paris, 1920–29), p. 608.

The corresponding appellative noun is found in Provençal *grau*,[21] Catalan *grau*,[22] and, possibly, OPisan *grau grao*.[23] All these forms show the Catalan variant of the word, *grau*[24] (the Spanish development of gradus being *grado* and the Provençal, *gra*[25]). The Pisan record is found in a thirteenth century text, *Lo compasso da navegare*,[26] the oldest Italian portolano, reconstructed on the basis of four Italian versions. Three of these were reductions of a Tuscan original; the fourth, presenting "il volgare italiano non ripulito dall'uso letterario, ma quale era parlato dai marinai, con mescolanza di termini di vari dialetti," shows Catalan traces and probably passed through Catalan hands.[27] That the Pisans knew of the *gradus* placenames in Languedoc is shown by the two records, of 1166 and 1168, of the *Gradus Mergurii* in Maragone's *Annales Pisani*.[28]

To sum up: We have tried to derive the three areas of gradus (the Adriatic, Pisa, and the Catalan-Provençal coast) as well as the two semantic shades ('harbor' and 'channel') from a Latin basis that had already had a similar distribution and that contained the semantic potentialities, since these were inherent in the specific locations marked by the toponyms.[29]

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[21] Wartburg, *Franz. etymol. Wörterb.*, IV, 205:1b.

[22] Alcover and Moll, VI, 393, s.v.

[23] Accademia d'Italia, *Dizionario di marina medievale e moderno* (Rome, 1937), p. 1324.

[24] P. Fouché, *Rev. Hisp.*, LXXVII (1929), 114. J. Ronjat, *Grammaire istorique des parlers provençaux modernes* (Montpellier, 1930–41), I, 62; II, 108.

[25] In Provence, this indigenous variant *gra* 'canal' coexisted with the Catalan loanword (Jal, p. 798, s.v. gra; p. 787, s.v. goleta).

[26] B. R. Motzo, ed., *Archivio storico sardo*, n.s., I (1936), 67–112.

[27] Terracini, *Arch. Glott. Ital.*, XXVIII (1936), 176–178.

[28] Muratori, *Rer.Ital.Script.* [ed. nov.], VI: 2, 37 and 45.

[29] In this interpretation we are in disagreement particularly with Meyer-Lübke (*Das Katalanische* [Heidelberg, 1925], p. 61), who thinks that the semantic shade 'werft' (by which he apparently means our 'harbor') was borrowed by Catalan from Venetian (cf. Wartburg, *FEW*, s.v. gradus, fn. 8).

Book Reviews

Personal Names in Medieval Velikij Novgorod. I. Common Names. By Astrid Baecklund. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Études de Philologie Slave. 9. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell. [1959]. 195 p.

The main object of Baecklund's study was to investigate the form of the 21 most frequent masculine names of Greek origin found in the Novgorodian documents *Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova* (= GVN) edited by S. N. Valk et al. and published by the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, Moscow-Leningrad 1949. The birch bark "documents," excavated in Novgorod in 1955 and published by A. V. Arcichovskij and V. I. Borkovskij in 1958 under the title *Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste (iz raskopov 1955 goda)*, did not reach the author until his work was in the press and they were included in an *Addendum* on pp. 191—192.

In the *Introduction* (pp. 19–41) the author gives a review of Russian onomatology, characterizes the sources, and sketches the political and social conditions in medieval Novgorod.

The main analysis of the names is given in the next chapter *Novgorodian Personal Names* (pp. 42–87). Here we find notes on native Slavic names and Christian names of Greek, Latin and Hebrew origin, forenames, patronymic names and surnames, Slavization and Russification, the derivatives, and finally notes on frequency, variants and their social distribution.

The Material comprises the following names and their variants: *Ivan, Vasilei, Grigorei, Fedor, Semen, Jakov, Stepan, Mixailo, Jurii, Esif, Dmitrei, Ondrěi, Matťěi, Pavel, Oleksei, Sidor, Kuzma, Maksim, Ignatei, Nikita, Oleksandr* (pp. 88—190). The arrangement of the names is according to their frequency in GVN.

Like all other studies of this kind Baecklund's book is important primarily because of its complete and well-presented material. One is impressed by the detailed and very full account of the names, their classification and linguistic analysis. The author is, with few exceptions, well versed in the Russian and other Slavic onomato-

logical literature[1] and highly qualified for this kind of research. We see it particularly in the structural analysis of the name derivatives, suffixes and other examples of Slavization and Russification of the names.

Any discussion of proper names inevitably provokes, besides consideration of the form, the investigation of the meaning. Therefore, it would be very useful to give the etymology of each name, not only to refer to the Greek form as the last instance, as the author does. By such a treatment of the problem we would have a clearer picture of the origins of particular names and their meaning.

One feels that Baecklund's book would have been better without casual terms as, e.g., "Great Russian" (p. 73) instead of *Russian*, "Slavonic" (ibid.) instead of *Slavic*.

The present review does not go into Slavistic details, but discusses questions of general interest to the readers of *Names*. From this point of view the book is a valuable contribution to Russian and Eastern Slavic anthroponymy. Moreover, it is the first study of that kind in English presenting not only the respective historical material but also giving a scholarly analysis of the problems involved. It also orientates the reader in the present state of research of Russian and Eastern Slavic forenames of Greek-Hebrew origin.

In conclusion, Baecklund's work is a piece of sound scholarship, a brilliant example to Slavic onomatologists interested in the Old Russian anthroponymy. I would highly recommend continuance of research in the other names contained in GVN.

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The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names. By Eilert Ekwall. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1960. 4th Edition, xlix, 546 pp. $8.00.

Once again Professor Eilert Ekwall has edited his already definitive work on the chief English place-names. The event can be said, without overstatement, to be a major event in onomatology, and

[1] It is regrettable that some of the important works in this respect were disregarded, e.g. Ivan Franko: *Contributions to Onomastics* (Onomastica UVAN No. 14, Winnipeg, 1957); *E. Borschak*: *Les noms de famille ukrainienne* (Onomastica UVAN No. 18, Winnipeg, 1958).

perhaps also to be an uncomfortable reminder to American scholars of their own shortcomings in regard to studies of place-names. Sometimes, it seems rather doubtful that American education can produce a scholar of the caliber of an Ekwall who is able to combine the historical, philological, linguistic, and topographical knowledge, along with the scholarly patience, necessary for the completion of such an undertaking. Still, it is to be hoped that some such study will be done in America. When it does appear, Ekwall's work will certainly serve as a model.

The new edition inevitably invites comparison with the excellent first edition published in 1936. The careful and thorough method of the first edition is continued. Completely reset, the *Dictionary* has many, possibly 600, new entries and 26 more pages of text, plus additions and changes in individual entries. Appendices from other editions have been incorporated in the text, so that the format and arrangement appear much the same as in the first edition. Material from Professor Ekwall's studies in English place-names from 1936 to 1956 has been used. The many sources listed in the first edition have been expanded in the listings, and serve as a good bibliography for place-name study. Although the editions appear much the same, only a page by page comparison of the first and fourth editions will indicate the amount of painstakingly detailed information added in the latter, which, of course, makes the fourth edition an indispensable source for place-name study.

This edition also incorporates new material from the English counties covered by the Survey of English Place-Names, plus unpublished material contributed by Mr. J. E. B. Gover and Mr. P. H. Reaney. Mr. Gover, in collaboration with Mr. A. Mawer and Mr. F. M. Stenton, also has published place-name material on the counties of Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, and Wiltshire, since Ekwall's first edition. Mr. Reaney's work on place-names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely has been a valuable contribution. The *Dictionary*, however, remains substantially a brilliant piece of primary research on the part of Professor Ekwall, who admits that the material has been, with few exceptions, collected from the sources by the writer.

A few examples indicate just how far Professor Ekwall depends on his own topographical research beyond the printed source

material. In the first edition, he noted that Hŏveringham is located in a low situation, although the elements of the name seem to be derived from "OE *hofer* 'lump' (cf. OE *hoferede* 'hunch-backed')." A visit to Hŏveringham cleared the etymology. He notes in the fourth edition that "there is a considerable hill near Hŏveringham," and that possibly *hofer*, later *hoferingas*, 'hump,' came from the name of the topographical feature.

The etymology of Benwick, noted in the first edition as "OE *Bēanwīc* 'WIC where beans were grown,'" was changed after a visit to the site: "The low situation on the Nene tells against OE '*bēan*' as a first el. Possibly OE *bēamwic* 'WIC by a beam or plank bridge.'"

The entry on Chirdon also shows how a topographical feature can bring into doubt a seemingly impregnable etymology: "Chirton is OE *Cyrichtūn* 'church TŪN.' Chirdon may mean 'valley belonging to a church or with a church or chapel.' But the first el. might be a stream-name derived from OE *cierr* 'bend.' Chirdon is on a winding stream." The dramatic quality of this entry is typical rather than exceptional. It should be pointed out that the *Dictionary* is studded with references to the exact features of the areas in which the place-names occur.

A short review cannot give more than a hint of the value of this work to historians, philologists, archeologists, folklorists, geographers, as well as to onomatologists. The settlement history can be fairly accurately determined by the changes in the forms of a name, by the derivation of the name, and by the etymology of the name. The social and cultural history can likewise be determined to a great extent throu gh the scientific study of place-names, as Professor Ekwall so well points out in the introduction. The thousands of carefully researched and just as carefully written entries will certainly be a mine of dependable information for future English scholars in many fields.

Any misgivings about this work will have to be placed in the category of mere quibbles. Nevertheless, one would have preferred to have pronunciations listed, especially the local pronunciations of some of the names. Often the pronunciation could throw revealing light on other purely extra-linguistic matters. Pronunciations for Cirencester, Rievaulx (rēvō, locally rĭverz), Cholmondeley, and

Cholmondeston are given, along with a few other less prominently curious ones. Although the *Dictionary* has been reset, the introduction, for all practical purposes, has not been changed. In a line by line comparison of the texts of the first and fourth editions, I could find only ten changes, all minor ones, such as changing "Celticized" to "celticized," adding a name at one point, omitting one at another, and other small emendations. These strictures necessarily become rather meaningless in view of the richness of Professor Ekwall's great work, a work which reviewing gadflies can irritate very little if any.

Kelsie B. Harder

Youngstown University

Gerhard Bauer, *Die Flurnamen der Stadt Saarbrücken*. Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1957. 439 pp.

Few would believe that there are as many as 1,300 topographical names which in the course of a thousand years, at one time or another, have been attached to the many small and even minute sections that constitute the area of Saarbrücken, today a teeming industrial center and the capital of the much-disputed Saarland in the Republic of West-Germany.

As the author states in his introductory paragraphs, he has tried to ferret out all of the names found in the once undeveloped region of the four townships of Saarbrücken proper, St. Johann, St. Arnual, and Malstatt-Burbach. What he left out deliberately and, as I believe, for good reasons, are the many house and street names of the urban community of today. He feared that the inclusion of the two last-mentioned toponymical categories would distort some of his statistical conclusions which are drawn from strictly topographical designations of settlements as well as of fields, woods, meadows, streams and ponds, roads, highways, and trails.

These general conclusions are preceded by a very thorough historical and philological study of every single name (pp. 59 to 254). In each case this study is based on a wealth of documentary evidence from printed and from unpublished sources — there is an impressive *Quellenverzeichnis* on pp. 25–30. In most instances the historically recorded forms of a name are given in their full

context, arranged in chronological order, and carefully identified with their present-day counterparts or, if no longer in use, with the particular parcel of land which they once designated. Wherever available, the modern dialectal forms have been noted.

The linguistic analysis, too, is sound and thorough-going. Mr. Bauer has familiarized himself with the dialect, the dialect geography, and the lexicography of the area under discussion. To be sure, it was his good fortune to have at his disposal such splendid aids as the studies by Bach, Frings, Will, and especially Friedrich Kuntze's monograph *Studien zur Mundart der Stadt Saarbrücken* (1932). He also makes judicious use of such pertinent onomastic works as E. Christmann's *Die Siedlungsnamen der Pfalz* (1952). Moreover, he never fails to apply — and this is by no means a matter of course in onomastic research — a wholesome dose of common sense and critical judgment throughout the book. Thus he comes through with correct or, at any event, highly plausible explanations for the large majority of the names treated. In a good many other instances, such as *Alsbach* (p. 66f.), *Triller* (p. 166), *am Fahrenberg* (p. 178), *die Unterß wieß* (p. 250), etc., he suggests two or three alternatives, conceding that no definite choice can be made. In still others he candidly admits that he has as yet no answer at all.

The last-mentioned category contains several toponyms which are likely to occur elsewhere and which elsewhere may happen to be more fully documented, historically, more lucid in terms of their present-day dialectal pronunciation, and more obvious in their relationship to certain parts or features of the natural scene. I, therefore, shall list some of them here for the benefit of future investigators: *Borbaum* (p. 70), *in Herches Bach* (p. 87) — from the personal name of *Herrich*? —, *Kaßbiesen* (p. 93), *im Schood* (p. 113), *Sitters* (p. 115), *in der Gluncken* (p. 141), *vor Spürckh* (p. 164), *die Stalpe* (p. 165), *uffm Solender* (p. 196), *uf Chafeldt* (p. 210), *die Geldeiche* (p. 215), *am Grabelwald* (p. 216), *im Hampel* (p. 218) — from the designation of an awkward person? —, *imm heepen schnapp* (p. 220), *Limmelswiese* (p. 230), *der Primeracker* (p. 236) — cf. *Primacker*, in H. Fischer, *Schwäb. Wörterbuch*, I (1904), 1419.

In addition, as may be expected, there are certain explanations on which the reader is tempted to quarrel with Mr. Bauer. So when he tries to derive the first element in *Burschwiese* (p. 73) from a

dialectal pronunciation of *burg* as [burç] with a tendency toward [burs] — in spite of four older forms recorded as *burß-* (1633), *Börsch-* (1686), and *bursch-* (1710 and 1714), and in spite of his willingness to account for another *Burschwiese*, in the district of St. Johann, in terms of *burst* (*borst*) 'wiry, short poor sort of grass' (p. 210). Rather doubtful, too, seems to be the identification of *Halbers-* in *Halberßbach* (p. 84) with *helters(t)-* in *Hölzersbach* (p. 90) and its tracing to MHG *heltære*. Nor is it very plausible to suppose an older word *hei(e)* 'enclosure, preserve' in the name of *Heubügel* recorded with the same spelling for the last two hundred years (p. 87). And the form *Hesselfeld*, on the same page, no doubt owes its umlaut *-e-* to an older *haselîn-* > *heseln-*, not to *hasel-*, just as *Eschel-* and *Dentel-* in place names have been shown to come from *aschîn(en)-* and *tannîn(en)-*; cf. O. Springer, *Die Flußnamen Württembergs und Badens* (Stuttgart, 1930), pp. 108 and 111, and also *Language*, XXV (1949), 410–415. The toponym *hobelter* (p. 88) cannot possibly go back to the suggested **Hagfelder*, nor can the first element in *Ritzloch*, which as early as 1485 occurs as *Ritzlach*, represent the possessive form of a surmised **rit* beside *riet* 'reed.' For similar reasons it is difficult to see the possessive of an old masculine form of *lerche* in *Lerchesflur* (p. 151). Somewhat tantalizing is the occurrence of the toponym *im* or *am Donau* (p. 177) for a parcel of land and very unconvincing its analysis as a compound of MHG *ouwe* 'Au(e)' (with feminine gender!) and OHG *donan* 'to swell'! For the name of *Wiesel-* or *Wisselstein* (p. 202), a solitary rock in the middle of a meadow, the author reconstructs a Gmc. root **weis-* (from PIE **ueidh-s-*, cf. Lat. *dī-vid-ere*), which with the suffix *-ila* is supposed to yield an adjective meaning 'separate, solitary,' an adjective of which there is no trace in any Germanic language at any time! What about a connection with *Wiesel* 'weasel'? The name of *Erbach* (p. 213), for which Bauer somewhat reluctantly refers us to *Ebersgraben* (p. 212), has elsewhere been shown to stem from an older *Elr-* < *Ellerbach(graben)*, that is, 'alder brook.' Cf. O. Springer, *op.cit.*, p. 108. And finally, how can the first element in *Mitschenmühle* (p. 232) derive from MHG *muotschar*, and this in spite of the fact that as early as 1550 the name reads *die Mütschen müllen*? There is little doubt that *Mütschen* is the possessive case of a personal name *Mütsch* of not infrequent occurrence.

However, explanations like these which seem clearly mistaken, as well as names left unexplained, hardly total 2–3 percent of the entire material under discussion, so that there is a very substantial bulk of reliable facts and correct interpretations on which the author, far from contenting himself with a plethora of disconnected onomastic explanations, bases a number of rather significant onomastic conclusions.

Elaborating on the ideas first proposed by W. Will in his paper on "Die zeitliche Schichtung der Flurnamen" and depending on his own careful and rich chronological documentation of nearly every name, Mr. Bauer has been able in a very elucidating chapter (pp. 273–322) to present statistics concerning the first occurrences as well as the relative number of names recorded in each of the last six or seven centuries. In particular, the straight diagonals of the graphs by which the author plots the share of the different centuries in the onomastic inventory of today indicate a surprisingly regular and steady development of the topographical name-giving of the region under consideration. Accordingly, the evolution of the names is by no means limited to a few centuries of long ago, such as the 11th to the 14th, nor have historical events such as the Thirty Years War had the much-bewailed effect on the toponymical history of the area. On the contrary, the rise of new names and the loss of old ones continue throughout the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries practically at the same rate as during the preceding period.

On the other hand, there are some striking differences as we compare the curves representing individual townships, differences which stem from certain changes in the economic structure of one township as contrasted with that of another. Thus the sudden falling in recent times of the curves representing the emergence of *Flurnamen* of both Saarbrücken and St. Johann clearly reflects the recent industrialization of these particular districts and the ensuing decline of interest in all matters concerning the soil, its cultivation, and its names.

In addition, Mr. Bauer presents us with some interesting and reassuringly cautious generalizations as to what points of view prevail in the coining of topographical names (pp. 323–355). By far the largest percentage of the names of the four districts refer to human institutions and to use or cultivation of the soil, namely

between 51 % and 62 %. Next in popularity are the natural characteristics of a given parcel of land; they are responsible for 26 % to 33 % of the entire inventory. The slight variations in the percentage, again, reflect differences between agricultural and industrial areas (p. 351).

The conclusions of the final chapter (pp. 365–397) have less general significance, although they do represent very substantial contributions to the local and legal history, the folklore and geography of the area under discussion.

No doubt, Mr. Bauer's monograph is a model of its kind, so impressive in its thoroughness, comprehensiveness, and systematic rigor that it ought to discourage once and for all the kind of slipshod "dissertational" *Flurnamen*-study which consists of an alphabetical list of more or less reliably explained topographical names. It is, above all, the historical dimension obtained by his meticulous scrutiny of every scrap of documentary evidence which, combined with sound linguistic training, makes the author's analysis of each toponym refreshingly critical and reliable. It allows him, beyond this individual analysis, a number of wide-ranging systematic studies and certain general conclusions which, I believe, will prove fruitful in, if not directly applicable to, all future onomastic research of this kind.

Otto Springer

University of Pennsylvania

CORRECTION

Dr. Yakov Malkiel, by his letter of Sept. 30, 1960, corrects in his review of Olof Brattö's book (*Names* June 1960, p. 98, line 16 from the bottom) the form *Yacaqob;* it should read "*Ya*^{c}*akob* with superscript *c* standing for a Semitic pharyngal (ʿayin)." The review writer is in no way responsible for this misleading erratum.

D. J. G., Ed.

For Onomatologists Only

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

Next Easter the Seventh Congress of the International Committee of Onomastic Sciences will be held in Florence and Pisa.* This particular Congress will deal pre-eminently with (1) Indo-Europeans and Pre-Indo-Europeans in the Mediterranean basin on the basis of toponymic and onomastic remains; (2) Latin and Teutonic onomastics in the Dark Ages; and (3) local names in cartography. Communications regarding the Congress should be sent (if possible, before January 15, 1961) to Professor Carlo Battisti. Secretary, International Committee of Onomastic Sciences, c/o The Institute of Glottology, University of Florence, 4, Piazza S. Marco, Firenze, Italy.

MEMBERSHIP ACTIVITIES

Credits for new members: Demetrius Georgacas (5); George R. Stewart (2); Elsdon C. Smith (2); Mamie Meredith (1); Thomas Pyles (1); G. Thomas Fairclough (1); E. Wallace McMullen (1); and Wilbur G. Gaffney (1).

Among the new members: Dr. J. E. Schmidt, of Charleston, Indiana, who is interested in medical lexicography and semantics, writes, "I have coined many useful and current words in the medical field (through my columns in the medical journals) and some lay words, in my column on words in the *Baltimore Sun*. For example: XENOEPIST, one who speaks with a foreign accent; MARITOSIS, submissiveness to one's husband; SOMATOTHYMIC, pertaining to the effect of the physical condition of the body on the emotions or spirit; EUDENTIA, the condition of having good teeth; ANOPHELIMITY, the inability to satisfy; and ONYMOMISIA, an abnormal aversion for a name or names. Dr. Schmidt has recently published a book entitled *Baby Name Finder* (which sells for $10.50.)

The president of the Wilkie Buick Corporation in Philadelphia, Mr. Martin H. Bury, is now an *ANS* member. For twelve years Mr.

* Cf. D. J. Georgacas, "Sixth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences", *Names* 8, 2 (1960), 102 ff.

Bury has written a newspaper column which appears regularly in the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*. He also has an art collection consisting of more than one hundred oils, and in February of this year he initiated and sponsored "The Wilkie Buick Art Competition and Exhibit" which later went on tour and was viewed by thousands of enthusiastic people. He is also the author of *The Automobile Dealer* which has even been translated into the Japanese language, and *Rolling Wheels* (1953) which contains many "names."

One of our new members, Mrs. Mary Brashier, is Associate Editor of *Outdoor Nebraska* and is employed in the Game, Forestation and Parks Commission of Nebraska. She has published a number of articles on Nebraska place-names, including one entitled "Alias a River — Behind a Name Lies a Priceless Heritage" (*Outdoor Nebraska*, Dec., 1959, pp. 12–13, 24; photographs, 4; State Capitol, Lincoln 9), in which she discusses French, Spanish, and Indian names for the Platte River ("Nibraskier" and, later, "La Platte"; "Rio Jesus y Maria"; and Pawnee "Kits Katus" — "flat Water" – and Dakota "Moonshell").

Another new *ANS* member is Mrs. Mildred R. Bennett, the president of the Willa Cather Pioneer Memorial (which operates from Red Cloud, Nebraska). She won first place in a national contest for her biographical article, "Willa Cather in Pittsburgh," which was published in the spring, 1959, issue of the *Prairie Schooner*, the University of Nebraska literary magazine. Another article by Mrs. Bennett, entitled "Willa Cather," was published in the *Seydell Quarterly* which is printed in Belgium. She also wrote the 5,000-word text which accompanies colored transparencies of "Cather Country" and is used in conjunction with high school English courses. Mrs. Bennet is preparing a paper on Willa Cather's naming of her characters which she expects to read at the 1960 annual *ANS* meeting (see the program below).

Another new member, Mr. Roger Price, 275 Central Park West, New York 24, N.Y., reports, "I have recently written and published a ... book called *What Not to Name the Baby*, a quasi-scientific work that solves almost everything." Perhaps we can also look forward to a book on nicknames, another of Mr. Price's interests. Professor Warren R. Maurer, Department of German, University of California, Berkeley 4, California, is especially interested in the use of character and place names in literature. Professor Oscar F.

Jones, teacher of Gothic, German, and other languages, at the University of Florida, is working on a paper on Greek boat names from Tarpon Springs, Florida. Dr. Donald H. Clark is writing *Geographic Place Names of Washington and Their Origins, in* collaboration with a present member of the American Name Society.

Among the members: Miss Sandra Luger, a 1960 graduate of Hunter College, is teaching English in a New York City junior high school. Professor Lalia Boone, University of Florida, has completed a series of English texts for elementary and high school and has also completed an analysis of Cross Creek speech patterns from the works of Marjorie K. Rawlings. Mrs. Helen Carlson's dissertation on Nevada place-names will be the first publication of the newly established University of Nevada Press. Professor Fritz Kramer, former Executive Secretary of *ANS*, is now teaching in the Department of Geography, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon. Professor Yar Slavutych is now teaching in the Department of Slavonic Studies, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada.

During the summer of 1960 Dr. Meredith F. Burrill, Chairman of the Board of Geographic Names in the U. S. Department of Interior and a past President of the *ANS*, attended meetings at the United Nations of a panel of geographic name experts; held consultations in Washington with a group from the Permanent Committee on Geographic Names in London; and late in July went to the XIX International Geographical Congress in Stockholm, where he was a member of the Academy of Sciences — National Research Council delegation.

Another contributor to *Names*, Mr. G. Thomas Fairclough, has brought out a new edition of Lilian L. Fitzpatrick's *Nebraska Place-Names* (University of Nebraska Press, this fall, 1960; 200 pp., $1.50). The original author wrote the work while studying under the late Dr. Louise Pound, and Mr. Fairclough himself is an inheritor of the "Pound tradition," having taken his A. B. and M. A. degrees at the University of Nebraska.

During the 1959 meeting in Chicago of the American Dialect Society (ADS) two *ANS* members, Professor Thomas Pyles and Albert H. Marckwardt, were elected president and vice-president of the ADS, respectively. We would like to extend our congratulations

to Professors Pyles and Marckwardt. Professor Marckwardt is now also a member of the ACLS Board of Directors.

Our Editor, Dr. Demetrius J. Georgacas, Professor of Classical Languages at the University of North Dakota, has issued the first and second announcements of his current dictionary project. It is stated that the University of North Dakota, with the support of the United States Office of Education, has undertaken to produce a comprehensive general dictionary to be entitled *A Modern Greek-English Dictionary of the Common and Literary Modern Greek Language*. Funds for the dictionary are authorized under the Language Development Program of the National Defense Education Act. The work, which will include approximately 50,000 common and literary (demotic) words in ca. 2500 two-column pages of a medium-size format, is scheduled for completion early in 1964. Professor Georgacas is the director of the project; Mrs. Barbara D. Georgacas, the associate director; and the rest of the staff consists of five assistants, typists and clerks; it has also the benefit of contributors and professional consultants. Reprints of Greek word studies, books, bibliographical indications, etc., from colleagues are welcome, and may be sent to "Professor Demetrius J. Georgacas, Director, Greek-English Dictionary Project, 2 Georgiou Vendiri Street, FILOTHEI, Athens, Greece."

Membership Committee. Professor Cecilia A. Hotchner, of Hunter College, is our new official representative for the state of New York. She replaces Mrs. Robert Stewart of the Bristol-Meyers Co. who was promoted to a more demanding position and had to resign from our Committee. Mr. Maurice A. Mook, Professor of Anthropology at Pennsylvania State University, is now Regional Representative for Region A (New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania), replacing Professor E. Wallace McMullen (who will continue to serve as one of the Pennsylvania representatives).

IN MEMORIAM

Walter Yust, 65, of 2760 Eastwood Avenue, Evanston, Illinois, editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* longer than any of his predecessors, died on February 29, 1960.

Yust had been editor-in-chief of the reference work – which first was published in 1768 – since 1938 and had been a member of its staff since 1930. He had retired just ten days before his death.

Graduated by the University of Pennsylvania in 1917, he immediately entered newspaper work, and was on the staffs of newspapers in Philadelphia, Memphis, New Orleans, and New York City. His review of the 14th edition of the encyclopaedia in 1929, when he was literary editor of the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, so impressed the publisher that he hired him. On the encyclopaedia, he developed the staff from a handful of editors to 250 editorial workers and 150 scholars who serve as advisers.

He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa honor society and Alpha Chi Rho fraternity and the Caxton club.

Yust leaves his widow, Ruth; a son Larry; a daughter, Mrs. Gilbert Rivera; and three grandchildren, John, Peggy, and Larry Rivera.

Mr. Yust was a Sustaining Member of the *ANS* and from its inception showed an enthusiastic interest in the organization. For four years — from 1953 to 1956 — he was a member of the *ANS* Board of Managers. His passing will be a matter of sincere regret by the members of the Society.

Contributions to the archives: Helen Carlson (6), including thesis, "Comstock Mine Names"; Jack A. Dabbs (10); Fritz Kramer (5); Arthur Minton (1); Elsdon Smith (2); C. Grant Loomis (6); Demetrius Georgacas (1); Wilbur Zelinsky (1); Mamie Meredith (2); C. A. Weslager (3); Franklin B. Williams, Jr. (2), A. R. Dunlap (1); Virgil J. Vogel (1); William M. Seaman (3). Dr. Ava H. Chadbourne has contributed a copy of her *Maine Place Names*. Professor Demetrius Georgacas has forwarded the material from the Editor's office. A complete listing of the archives will be submitted for publication in a later issue.

Acknowledgments: Special thanks for material contributed to this installment of "For Onomatologists Only" go to Professor Kelsie B. Harder, George R. Stewart, and Mamie J. Meredith.

E. W. M.

9TH ANNUAL MEETING PROGRAM
of the AMERICAN NAME SOCIETY

Tuesday and Thursday, December 27th and 29th, 1960
at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

All meetings, except the Annual Dinner, will be held in the Academic Room Bellevue-Stratford Hotel.

Jack A. Dabbs, Chairman, Program Committee;
Alfred Senn, Ruth L. Pearce, Co-chairmen,
Committee on Local Arrangements

Tuesday, December 27

Annual Dinner, 6:30 p.m.

University Club, 226 South 16th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Mamie Meredith, University of Nebraska, presiding.

President's Address

T. M. Pearce, University of New Mexico, "Object Names in Aerospace."

Thursday, December 29

9:15 a.m. to 10:15 a.m. Mamie Meredith, University of Nebraska, presiding.

Margaret Bryant, Brooklyn College, "Name Prefixes in Telephone Numbers."

Maurice A. Mook, Pennsylvania State University, "Nicknames among the Amish."

G. Thomas Fairclough, Johns Hopkins University, "Thomas Love Peacock as an Onomatologist."

Frederick T. Thorpe, Jr., Dept. of Streets, Philadelphia, "Street Designations in Philadelphia."

10:30 a.m. to 11:20 a.m. Jack A. Dabbs, A. & M. College of Texas, presiding.

W. G. Gaffney, University of Nebraska, "The Duke's Distinguished Ancestors: A Name Not Snatched From Thin Air."

Mildred R. Bennet, Willa Cather Pioneer Memorial, Red Cloud, Nebraska, "How Willa Cather Chose Her Names."

Walter P. Bowman, American University, "Names in Theatrical Terminology."

Raven I. McDavid, University of Chicago, "Mencken's Onomastics."

11:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. Business Meeting.

Reports of the Executive Secretary, the Treasurer, the Editor, the President.

Announcement of the election of officers for 1961.

Other business.

1:30 p.m. to 2:30 p.m. Elsdon C. Smith, Chicago, presiding.

Herman Iventosch, Lafayette College, "Pastoral Proper Names in Spanish Renaissance Literature."

Donald J. Orth, Arlington, Virginia, "Dam and Reservoir Names."

Kelsie Harder, Youngstown University, "The Lady's Shoe Has a Name."

A. W. Read, Columbia University, "The Figurative Application of English Town Names in the United States."

2:45 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. T. M. Pearce, University of New Mexico, presiding.

Roland Dickison, Arkansas College, "Onomastic Irregularities in Christian Names in the Ozarks."

P. B. Rogers, Bucknell University, "Policies and Practices in Naming Protestant Churches in the United States."

Audrey Duckert, University of Massachusetts, "Dog Names: Real and Imaginary."

Byrd H. Granger, University of Arizona Press, "My Methods in Revising the Barnes' *Arizona Place Names*."

A. C. Scofield, People's Broadcasting Corporation,"Experiences in Planning Place Name Programs on Radio, TV, etc."